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October 4th, 1928.

LEADER

INDIAN PRINCES AND THE BRITISH CROWN.

A section of the Indian Princes is showing itself almost alarmingly progressive in one respect--its appreciation of the virtues of Propaganda. The Whirlwind campaign ~~xxxxx~~ ~~cared~~ carried on in the British Press by Dr. Rushbook Williams and Col. Kaksar has been familiar to us for sometime now. They took up the position--~~flattering~~ gratifying to British sentiment in spite of its obvious weakness--that the Princes were ~~xxx~~ bound by ties of loyalty to the British-Crown and that it would be a violation of their treaty rights for the Crown to transfer this loyalty to a third party. This pseudo ~~Coastal~~ Constitutional argument has sought to be reinforced by the opinion of eminent counsel like Sir Leslie Scott. More testimony to that effect has now been obtained, as our telegraphic Columns show from other Lawyers of more or less distinction apparently on the principle that "What ~~xx~~ I say thrice must be true". We do not propose to enterfere into anything like a detailed discussion of the legal and ~~coastal~~ Constitutional implications of the Prince's attit-ude. Suffice it to say that in contending tat "there is no legal or ~~coast al~~ Constitutional power in the Govern-ment of India, its officers or the Viceory or the Polit-ical department to insist on any agreement being entered into by the States", their advisors are undoubtedly challenging the recent declarations of policy by the Government that the Princes are wholly amendable in all matters to the control of

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the Viceroy and the Government of India acting in the name of the Crown. The Princes advisers lay down the novel dictum that "the Crown cannot require the states to transfer their loyalty to any third party nor can it without their consent hand over to persons, independent of the control of the crown, the conduct of foreign relations of the states nor the maintenance of their internal and external security". In other words they suggest that it is a treaty right only that Britain enjoys over the Sates. We wonder whether the bureaucracy, which evidently enjoys the contretemps created by the Princes' ultra-loyal opposition to Indian Swaraj, realises the aforesaid implication of that opposition and is prepared to acquiesce in this indirect repudiation by the Princes of the suzerainty of the British Crown. That however, is scarcely our concern. But what we can not overlook is the obvious desire of these Princes to confuse the issue and thereby prejudice and mislead British Public opinion as to the precise political aims of the people of British India. The constitutional position and powers the crown enjoys in the Commonwealth of free nations in which India will be an equal partner are in no wise sought to be whittled down by the proposals of the Nehru Committee which have been accepted by the All Parties Conference. The Nehru Committee has given ample assurance that so long as an agreed arrangement in the direction of a Federation or otherwise is not arrived at, the States quo should be maintained and the Princes shall continue to enjoy in full all

their present powers and privileges. It is difficult to understand the mentality of these princes who distrust the intentions of their own countrymen when the accredited leaders of the latter have always been prepared to meet them more than half way and to scrupulously respect their amour propre. Their attitude appears all the more unnatural when it is contrasted with the gushing loyalty which these same princes are resolved to lavish upon the British Crown for all time, regardless of whether circumstances might not arise when the latter would be embarassed rather than flattered by such obstinate allegiance.

Can these Princes honestly claim that it is pa-triotic to take up this intransigeant attitude? For what is the inevitable corallany of their demand that the British-Government should even after the grant of Swaraj to British-India continue to hold themselves responsible for the internal and external security of the Indian States? It is nothing less than that Britain should maintain an army of occupation in India in order to protect the States against possible vagaries on the part of self-governing India. Is this at all consistent with the uniformily professed goodwill of the princes towards British Indian aspirations for self-Government? And is it not virtually asking great Britain to convict herself of a laughable absudity by first admitting that Indian are responsible folk and will be able to look after themselves and immediately acting on the opposite assumption by humouring the Princes' imaginary fears and keeping a standing army in India?

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October 25th, 1928.

INDIANS IN DURBAN.

One has nothing but admiration for the suggestion put forward by the Mayor of Durban and his Colleagues on the Council towards solving the housing problem of the Indian community but one can not at the same time help wishing that the suggested solution had been less rough and ready in ~~x~~ its methods as well as less open to objection on principle. Surely it does not ~~necelved~~ need an elaborate enquiry like the one which is now in progress if it could not devise a better way out of the problem that the wholly unintellegant one of asking all the present Indian ~~inniates~~ inmates of the Borough to go and congregate in a piece of land ~~wxx~~ well out of the boundary of the Borough. Nor is it clear how this ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~massing~~ amassing together in seclusion of these "Pooorer Indians", for when the Mayor shows such solicitude, albeit in an "ideal village", will ~~xxxxxx~~conduce to that improvement in their standard of living which was envisaged in the Capetwon Agreement. Apart from this there is the underiable fact that the procedure savours so strongly of the element of segregation that the Indian community may well see in it the thin end of the wedge. Now it may or may not be the case that land in Borough area is not available for Indian ~~hensing~~ housing but the Mayor and his colleagues have certainly placed the bono-fides of their anxiety to approach the question with an open mind ~~xfxx~~ at a considerable discound. In

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In such circumstances it is probably not unnatural that the Mayor should have flown into a rage over "all this political agitation about segregation" by the Indian Community. Of course the Mayor can not understand and we do not blame him for it.

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October 31st, 1928.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The Outlook for the Indian Community in East Africa is exceedingly depressing. The Hilton young commission has submitted its report which it would appear confirms the worst fears entertained of the commission by the Indian resident in that colony. In the light of Mr. Andrew's observations at a meeting in England, the young commission would indeed seem to have recommended the federation of the East African colonies as a preliminary to the new administration being raised to the states of a dominion. What it means is that the Indians and the natives will virtually be reduced to slavery under the whites. Even under the crown colony system of Government, in which power is concentrated in officials responsible to this Mayerties Government the interest of the natives and the coloured people suffer. Discussing the policy recently of the liberal party towards natives, Sir Robert Kutcheson, the Liberal Chief Whip drew attention to the dangers besetting white rule in the colonies. He pointed out that how the tendency to leave the matters in the hands of the administrators on the sport led to the exploitation of the natives at the hands of the white settler. He instanced "the type of legislation which was coming forward from East Africa in the form of Native land ~~ordinance~~ Bill". "Under that Bill it was proposed to give natives a title to certain large tracts of land", he added, "but also to give long leases insides these native reservations to certain white settlers". He

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feared that under such a system "native will simply become a worker for the white settler". If such is the case when the Government is a crown colony, need it be said that if the settlers got direct and uncontrolled power they would do their utmost to exploit the native in their selfish interests and to the detriment of the other communities? As Mr. Andrews points out, that Indian Community stands seriously to suffer by the contemplated change and it is upto the Government of India to take timely measures to ward off this new menace threatening the Indian Community in East Africa.

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November 3rd, 1928.

THE LAHORE RIOT.

Beyond issuing an official statement, the truth of which in many respects is being challenged by the public of Lahore, the Punjab government havde done nothing to make an enquiry into the disgraceful incidents which occured on the day of the arrival of the Sumai Simon Commission. Lala Lajpat Rai has written in his paper "The people" with an indignant article, the full text of which will be found elsewhere, exposing the gross misstatements and misrepresentations in the Official communique. Police high handedness, Offiaial incompetence and lack of ordinary country courtesy to Indian leaders are matters which the authorities should take the earliest step of investigating into with a view to bring the offenders to book. Lalaji characterises the official version that some people crossed the police barrier near the Railway Industrial School as a contempt-ible lie. what is worse is that in order to justify their abbitrary conduct and unprovoked assault on a peaceful and unarmed crowd, the authorities are trying to disvoer cover excuses which have absolutely no foundation in fact. It is noteworthy that a few members of the co-operating Committee of the Punjab Council have denounced the conduct of the Police and demanded stem measures from the Government. The least that can be done by the Government to rehabilitate themselves with the public and make reparations for the injuries and insults to which the leaders and their followers have been subjected is to offer without any further delay a graceful apology and institute enquiries into the affair with a view to bring the wrong doers to book.

November 21st, 1928.

THE INDIAN FRANCHISE IN CEYLON.

The awkward Predicament in which the Ceylon Legislative Council has placed itself in regard to the franchise question is one upon which it can not be Congratulated......During the debates on the proposals of the Donoughmore Commission, however, evil counsels began to prevail upon some members of the Legislative Council who were unwilling for reasons which throw a flood of light on their attitude of distrust and suspicion towards Indians in that colony, to the Commission. Indians were described as birds of passage, as Coolies who were unfit to vote and even their contribution to the building up of the prosperity of Ceylon was questioned. It was also hinted that there was a delberate move on the part of India to make Ceylone a dependency of that country. All these manifestations of bad temper gave rise to mutual wrangles and at are stage it seemed as if there was no way out of the quagmire....At the final vote taking, an amendment that in the case of non-ceylonese the franchise should be continued only under existing qualifications was thrown out, while the other alternative, amendment that every voter should be able to read and write one of the following languages--English, ~~xxxxxxxxxx xxx xxxxxxxxxx~~ Sinhalese or Tamil-was carried. The effect of this amendments is that Indians whose mothertongue was Telugu, Kanarese or Malayalam or any other Indian language except Tamil and who did not know either English or Sinhalese could not vote. This is a serious disability, as numerous

Indians who are in Ceylon are people from Malabar country and other districts in southern India. Acccording to the existing regulations however only literacy in Sinhalese, Tamil or English is recognised so that it will be seen that what the decision does is to perpetuate the existing order of things and deny to Indians the adult franchise proposed by the Commission But curious result of this amendment is that while 200,000 Indians are denied the vote, eight times that number of Ceylonese would go without the vote. The clique in the Council has thus cut off its nose to spite its face-an operation which has already excited a good deal of dissatisfaction in the island as may be seen from the notices of votes of censure given by a number of members of the Congress on members of that organisation. Who voted for the amendment in the Council. The whole of this discreditable episode is described by Mr. St.Nehal Singh in his admirable anticle published elsewhere. Mr St. Nehal Singh has been waging a courageous war on behalf of Indians in Ceylon for a number of months and if any recognition of the inherent justice of their cause has resulted, it is in no small measure due to his labours. We are not gratified at the result achieved by the Selfish coterie by which many more Ceylonese would go without the vote than Indians. We would certainly prefer the introduction of the adult franchise recommended by the Donoughmore Commission and we hope that as enlightenment dawns upon the Sinhalese members responsible for this blunder steps would be taken to put themselves right with the public both in India and in Ceylon.

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December 3rd 1928.

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

It is time that the Government of India made enquiries about the treatment meted out to the Indians resident in Tanganyika by the Administration of that Territory. From what a special correspondent sets forth in our columns today, racial discrimination is as rampant there as in any British Colony in East Africa. There is absolutely no justification for such invidious treatment of Indians anywhere.and in the case of Tanganyika, the Administration is not only not justified in according privileged treatment to the Europeans but is also guilty of gross abuse of the trust imposed on it. Tanganyika it is well know, is not a British Colony or Protectorate; it is held by Britain under a mandate from the League of Nations and the Tanganyika authorities are therefore bound to give equal treatment for all nationals. Yet we see the British authorities in Tanganyika denying to the Indian officials of the place fair treatment in the way of salaries, allowances, promotions and pensions, It is the duty of the government of India to look into the matter and see that Indians are accorded that measure of justice which is due to them.

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December 12th 1928.

INDIANS IN KENYA

News from Kenya Continues to be discouraging. The Indians, as a cable published elsewhere shows, have lost the test case they had instituted against the refusal of the authorities to allow them to bid at anetions for land in particulars areas. By an ingenious interpretation of the ordinance governing the matter, the supreme court has held that racial Segregation is legal, We are told that this judgement is to form the subject of an appeal and shall not therefore comment on the merits of the case. We shall be content with pointing out that the policy of racial segregation is unjust, especially in Kenya, to whose development and prosperity none has contributed more than the Indian community. Segregation is, it is to be remembered, only one of the series of measures which the whites Controlled Administration of Kenya has undertaken to strike at the States, rights and influence of the Indian Settlers in the ~~Colony~~ Colony. Another unjustice which we gatter, the Government have just perpetrated is their nomination to the Members a Muncipal council of three of their represenatives instead of, as hitherto two, thus shifting the balance of power in that body in favour of the white settlers. That body would appear to consist as per the recent settlement, of 7 Europeans, 7 Indians, One Arab representative, one Port Trust representative and 2 Government nominees. This gave the Indians the semblance of an even chance of success as against the Europeans. The increase of Government nominees to three has altogether disturbed this so that Indians can never hope to have their way whenever the

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European settlers and the Government had decided on a certain course. Is it to be wondered at that the Kenya papers received by the mail to day announce that the Indian members have boycotted the Members a Muncipal Council in a body?

December 10th, 1928.

INDIAN STATES SUBJECTS' DEMANDS

From what our London correspondent cables today, it is clear that the debate on the motion of Lord Oliver in the Houseof Lords regarding the problem of Indian States has caused disappointment to the Indian States' Peoples' Delegation in London. This is not surprising, for absolutely nothing has come out of the debate. The Delegation, as their able memorandum, just received, which Dewan Bahadur, M. Ramchandra Rao submitted to the Butler Committee shows, made out a very strong case for a declaration of the general Principles governing the relations between the States, the paramount power and the subjects. Neither viscount peel nor the distinguished Ex-Viceroys who spoke on the occasion had anything more to say than indulge in empty platitudes about the loyalty of the princes which should have disgusted even these for whose consumption they were really meant. The Secretary of state studiously refused to give any hint as to what he thought of the question. He took his stand on the glimsy preliminary objection that the question was under enquiry by the Butler committee and the Simon Commission and that therefore he must of necessity keep silent till they had reported. This may be diplomacy but it certainly does not betoken

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considerateness for the sufferings and feelings as the state subjects or even solicitude for the real welfare of the princes.

A reference to the memorandum of the State People's Delgation would show that they make no extravagant demands. They claim but three or four measures of reform to which no enlightened Prince can take exception. The first is the grant of representative institutions through which the people can make their voices heard by the Government, the Second is the right to vote on the Budget, the third the separation of public revenue from the Privy purse and the reference of the letter to the vote of representatives and finally, and independent judiciary and the rule of law. Now to none of these demands may exception be reasonable taken. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has claimed that the Princes have granted the first in many states and that in others the Subjects will get it for the asking. The second measures of reform is easily a corollary of the first. So that where the Princes concede the first, it is to be presumed they will not stand in the way of second. The third and the fourth requests are demands the reasonableness of which we may point out, Lord Irwin has conceded and princes themselves have accepted these reforms as necessary and reasonable. Addressing the chamber of Princes early this year, Lord Irwin exhorted the princes to undertake these reforms where they had not already done so. The only thing lacking is an agency which will see to it that these agreed principle are given given effect to in practice. Whose is the duty to do it? In giving an answer to this question, one has to bear the dictum in mind that responsibility

goes with power. The states peoples' Delegation point out that the power of intereference in the affaris of the States Vests in the Paramount power and ask whether it is not the duty of that power to discharge the responsibility of enforcing the principles of good government which is really an incident of the power it enjoys. It is notorious that wherever the interests of the Paramount power are threatened, it has not hesitated to interevene to safeguard them. Should it not at least state why on occasions when the interests of the states' people were concerned, it did not interefere and when and in which contingencies alone it would exercise its powers of intervention.

It is that question to which the Delegation expected an answer as the result of the Debate on the Oliver motion but to its dissappointment, Lord Peel simply busked the issue. The Délegation it is noteworthy, do not want the paramount power to take any drastic measures. They write in their memorandum:-

The responsibility for the paramount power for the Good Government and the well being of the people of the States is not discharged by waiting for an accumulation of misrule of government to such a degree as to justify its intereference. This method of securing good Government for the people of State inflicts most serious hardships upon the people for a member of years before action is taken. On these broad grounds we respectfully submit that there is a need for a new policy. A proclamation coming in the august name of His Imperial Majesty to the ruling Princes, commending the ideal of responsible constitutional government, is the best means for securing the permanenee of their thrones, the loyalty of their peoples and the unhampered

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progress of their states. and is sure to prove a fruitful step in the fulfilment of the responsibility of the Paramount power to the people of the States.

We do not see anything unreasonable in the issue of such a proclamation. The Princes were parties to the declaration of 1917, their representatives spoke highly of it I inferentially accepted the reforms which it implied. How could they feel agrieved if they are asked to extend to their subjects just these reforms which they agreed were for the good of British Indian Citizens?

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December18th 1928.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

It is ofcourse not quite unnatural for even a Viceroy to get into an expensive mood in the convivial atmostphere of his own countryman but the practice of making pronouncements on current events and policies that affect India and Indians particularly at gatterings at which Indians are conspiciously absent is hardly one that could be commended... His Excellency Lord Irwin in his speech he made at the political sigutation generally, he showed distinct signs of having brought himself wholly under the influence of the politics, policeies and political opinions of the European Association and thereby permitted himself to make a speech which will be received with great surprise and regret by Indians throughout the country.

His Excellency however we note, has frankly a distrust of constitution making and from this point of view apparently neither the proceedings of the Simon Commission nor of the boycott which the popular parties are carying an against that commission, seem to have merited his serious attention except as pegs on which to hang his observations on the boycott agitation and on suspected communistic activities. His Excellency proceeded from this stand point to express himself in a half sarcastic and half serious vein an the resolution adopted by the congress organisations on Independence. Lord Irwin took the ground that any agitation for the severence of the British connection would in the first place, snap one of the links that make for natural

consolidation in India and in the next would alienate the sympathy of the British public in as much as the openly expressed desire that Dominion States will be used for the achievement of National Independence, would seriously prejudice India's cause in England. We can not believe that Lord Irwin had realised all the implications of a pronouncement of this kind and we can only hope that His Excellency's speech was intended to draw a redhening across the path of the few superficially minded people in India who he fondly believes, yet cherish the nation that only by propitating British-opinion and pandering to its prejudices could India get some further crumbs of re-forms. His Excellency can not be unaware of what Dominion Status means and involves. It includes the right of the fullest equality and liberty to every part of the British-Commonwealth, including India, if she gets Dominon States and it legitimately involves the right of secession from the commonwealth if the advantage of such a membership are no longer apparent to any free and equal member thereof. Any denial therefore of this right is tantamount to a declaration that there is no real intention in any section of the British people that India should attain Dominion States now or in the near future. The virtue of Dominion Status if it has any is to convince ~~there~~ those who enjoy it to retain it, although they have the option to throw it overboard in favour of Independence. Nor can India indeed be reasonably

expected to think of British-sympathy or favour of any value which refuses, after all the lessons of the war and of past War conditions to give to the people of an ancient and historic country even the liberty to think in terms of Independence as the future goal of its great peoples. The attemtpt to disown the responsibility of the Government for the growth of this feeling by reason of its policy of continued repression and distrust of the people, of successive plans and methods of perpetuating the domination over this country and the continuance of an alien bureaucratic system of administration can hardly deceive any thinking people in this country whether they are modcrates or extremists. And while every thinking publicists and responsible political organisation, in the country would continue to do their best to achieve unity in the national demand and peaceful and legitimate sanction for achieving them without the favour or patronage of Government in India or in England, they would not be detened by the raising of irrelevent issues or unfounded bogeys from the path they may decide to pursue at the coming eventufl national gatherings in Calcutta.

The Hindu (December 29th 1928.)

THE CONGRESS.

(The session of the Indian National Congress which begins today in Calcutta is one of the most momentous that have been held in the political aunals of the country-----The Calcutta Congress has ~~xxxxxx~~ met at a most critical juncture, when for the first time, a great and far reaching attempt had been made by summoning a National convention to bring the various political, commercial and other organisations in the country on the Common platform.)

(The guidance of the ship of the congress at this critical turn in the fortunes of the country has been entrusted to that tried helnesman Pandit Motilal Nehru. The address which he has delivered to day as President is typical of the ~~popular~~ characteriestics which have made him the trusted leader of the popular movement ~~who has~~ alike now the confidence of other political and public bodies in this country by his able and consummate, yet withal honourable and straight conduct in the direction of national affairs... His pronouncement is a matter of fact and business like one, withal displaying the earnestness of the Patriot determined to win freedom for his country and exhibiting a natural anxiety to consolidate the national forces and enable them to function together.) He profounds three questions: " Where do we stand?", What is ~~xxx~~ our destination?", and "How should we achieve it?". After a remarkably clear and succinct analysis of the political situation, brought about by a series of broken promises and pledges ending with the progress of the Simon Commission showing 'the presence of the toxin of Dyerism in the

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g Governments internal economy as he put it, the Pandit pauses to review the story of the extinction of Indian manufacturers and of the currency policy and arrives at the Cavelusion that owing to two sets of disabilities, one from without and another from within, the nation is being handicapped and that only after breaking through these shackles can it hope to be really free. Like Mr. Sen Gupta, Panditji lays stress on social evils which obstruct our path to national freedom which is our destination and which can only be won by beginning at the point at which the All Parties convention has now arrived and then pushing forward with it in order to reach the final goal. He believes that Dominion States involves very considerable amount of freedom bordering on Independence. He thinks there was no harm in making an offer to the British-Government and he recalled how the late Deshbhandu Das had made a similar offer of Co-operation at Faridpour. The Nehru Report was such a gesture. He urges that we ought to take account of the facts of the situation without xxxx xxxx merely losing ourselves in theories and dogmas and by a supreme effort to cleanse ourselves in acquire the ability for Independence. He is himself a complete Independent but he is not xxxxxxx against Dominion states and he has appealed for support for that natural unity which he and his co-adjustors in the All Parties Conference have sought to achieve with such remarkable xxxxxx success. In doing so he has as may be expected, made a frank and clear statement ~~xxx~~ of his position and left the congress in no uncertainity as to his own views. In comphasising the important of the All parties conference he points out:-

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This is the first time in the history of congress that it invited the people of India through the various organisations representing them to determine for themselves what is good for them. In doing so the Congress has acted on the principle of Self determination. These invited have accepted the invitation of the congress as they never did before- no, not even in the palmy days of Non-co-operation when, with call the millions behind it, the Congress was not supported by many well known organisations- There is not one organisation- Political, Social, religions, communal, industrial, or labour- of any note or standing to day which did not take part in the All Parties Conferences and the National Convention or which have so taken part has not given up much that it valued for the sake of unity. It is an achievement of which any country in the work might well be proud.) That achievement will now be presented to you. Will you accept it or spurn it? If you have any faith in your claim for self determination, you have no right to spurn it even if you disagree. The only question is whether there is such a consensus of agreement on the scheme that it can be treated as self determined. I say there is. The only dissentients are a few communalists. I must say frankly that I do not understand them I am unable to reconcile their claim for special communal advantages with their desire for complete Independence some of these would reserve to a handful the right to arrest the whole course of the country's legislation. Others are prepared to go back even on joint electorates if a few additional seats are not given to them in the legislatures. Their dessent with a system of Dominion States can hardly be taken seriously.

While he is in full sympathy with the desire for full national Independence for his Country he points

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out how Independence and Dominion States are entirely reconcilable and what is more trip, the programme of work for achieving either is the same for all congressmen, nay for all Indians, He has left the Government in no doubt as to the advancing tide of resentment in the country at recent developments culminating in the brutal and callous manner in which the authorities behaved in Lucknow, Lahore and other places. Panditji has further rightly warned the Government that the treats of repression and resolute Government could only strengthen its determination to offer firm and peaceful resistence to all such measures with calm courage and resolve, especially on the part of the younger generation.

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on which the Congress programme is based--"the principles of self reliance in all nation biulding work and of resistance to every antinational activity" which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar pointed out, "must inspire all an efforts". His exposition of these principles of the Congress programme was able and penetrating. The Swarajists stand for council entry because it enables them to resist anti-national activity, they refuse to accept office because in their view, "by accepting office the Congress is bound to become an unconscious ally of the bureaucracy". The Responsivists would be hard put to it indeed to attack this line of reasoning. Be that as it may, one thing is clear: our salvation lies in ourselves alone. If as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar says, we learn "to act as a single organisation, santions for the enforcement of national rights and demands will, of themselves, spring into existence." Hence the need for organised activity in every village and town in the country under the auspices of the congress. These organisations under proper leadership aught to be able to tackle local problems, help the legislators in formulating their programme in the councils and generally to revivify villages. In this work of rural reconstruction and national uplift under the auspices of the congress, all parties are interested and all parties might share without sacrificing one's convictions. It is to be hoped that those who at present stand out of the congress will realise their duty by the country and hearken to the fervent appeal for unity made in the address which is that of a great patriot and clear visiored statesman.

January 4. 1929.

BRITISH PRESS AND THE CONGRESS.

The Congress resolution on the country's political objective is producing reactions of an easily predictible kind in England. One general tendency according to our correspondent whose telegram we publish elsewhere is to

treat it as a joke. Even the decerous "Manchester Guardian" is hard put to it to repress its meriment at what it calls "Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum" and in the best style of "Galloper smith" assures us that "the endeavour to coerce the British parct is a move that readily suggests itself to unintellegent politicians", and will not cut ice. After these contemplously relegating the congress to the loribo of ignorant extravagance. Our contemporary condescends to explain itself and in sodoing hopelessly gives itself away. It remarks,"the gap is too wide for safety when the majority of Mahamedan leaders dissent from it", In other words, the nonchalance affected by British opinion is not so much the result of unshokable confidence in its own impreguable position in India as of the hope that India would not be able to achieve that unity which could compel Britain into conceding her demands. But in this banking upon Muslim support for the continuance of the present siptem of dominion, our contemporary louvicts itself of that very ignorarice with which it would charge the congress, no doubt msled by the indecsive session of the Muslim League at Calcutta and the antics of the so called Muslim All Parties conference. The truth of course, is that the individuals who stagemanaged the taller show represent none but themselves, white the Muslim League is at one with the congress as regard the country's goal, its differences being restiicted to the question of safegaards for mindsities. To those who affect to disbelieve the existence of a United demand for swaraj the adoption of the Nehru Report by the All parties convention whose representative character no well informed observer would question is sufficient answer. Those who will The Manchester Gouardian" rely upon Indian disunity to helop to postpone the day of reckoning will find themselves sadly disillusioned. As for our labour friends who

affect a squeamish horror of ultimatums and declare that no British Party could respond to them, it is really surprising that they should have so quickly forgotten the lessons of recent history in Ireland. Civil disobedience may as they contend, prove a failure and worse consequences may result. But do they pause to reflect that if such things should happen the responsibility would be Britian's alone and Labour would have its full share of it?

If the proceedings at Calcutta in the past few weeks have made one thing clear beyond a peradventure it is that there is new temper abroad in the coutry which should make Britain, if she is wise, cease forthwith from trifling with the burning aspirations of the people. It is easy to redicule it today, but it is certain to lead to wringing of hands to-morrow.

January 7. 1929.

INDIANS IN CEYLON.

The figures published in The Ceylon Government Gazette relating to the number of Indian labourers in Ceylon show that the apprehensions felt by the Ceylonese about the indigenous Population being overwhelmed by Indian voters if the latter were given equal franchise are absolutely groundless. It would appear, that as a matter of fact there were at the end of September last about 5,000 labourers less in Ceylon than in the previous year. The figures relating to the influx and efflux of labourers more or less prove the same point. The Times of Ceylon after reviewing these statistics says that the saturation point has already been reached and that there will probably be no larger immigration of Indian labourers than has hitherto been the case. Our contemporary remarks:

The statistics should do much to allay needless alarm at the prospect of Indian domination which has been fostered by agitation of a purely political character. Ceylon has had an adequate supply of labour since 1924 under the control system and the Indian population is not likely to increase disproportionately unless there is ~~most a unbiely demand for new labour. This inturn is~~ a substantial demand for new labour. This inturn is most unbirely and it can reasonably be assured that Tamil state population which comprises over ¾ths of the total Indian population in the Island has realised saturation point.

The resolution of the Ceylon Legislative Council derying Indians larger voting power than they posses and foregowing an extension of the families so far as the indigenuores population is concemed merely to deprive Indians of what is there due is now before the colonial office along with other resolutions on the Donoughmore Report. What the final shape which the franchise question will take and whether the system of adult ~~panclise~~ franchise will be adopted cannot be known untill the decisions of ~~colonial~~ Col. Amery are published. But the Government of India would do well to address the Ceylon authorities on the whole question pointing out the absurdity of the conclusions reached by the Legislative Council owing to prejudice.

February 6. 1929.

INDIA AND BRITISH GUIANA REFORMS.

Mr. Bajpai's replies to Pandit Hirdaynath ~~Kuinzfis~~ Kunzru's questions in the Assembly, a summary of which we published yesterday, regarding the Government of Ø India's attitude to the colonial office proposals for ~~counsal~~ constitutional reforms in British Guiana will be received with considerable surprise in the country. The reasons which the Education Secretary gave for the non-intervention policy followed by the

Government will not stand a moments scrutiny. We are told that there was no representation to Delhi from the Indian community in British Guiana requesting their intervention possibly Mr. Bajpai is right, that is in a technical sense. For it is notorious that Indian community has keenly felt the dangers lurking in the proposed reform and has protested against it, not merely to the colonial authorities but also to this country through cables and appeals to the Imperial citizenship Association. Nor are the other reasons advanced by Mr. Bajpai any more sound. The Education Secretary is reported to have stated that "the Government of India had obtained full particulars as to the changes proposed in the constitution of British Guiana and had examined them with great care". They had satisfied themselves" we are told, "that these changes did not involve any differentiation against Indians and did not in any way infringe the provisions of the special declaratory ordinances which were passed by the colonial Government in 1923 and which conferred equality of status on all persons of East Indian race resident in the colony". If it is a fact that the Government of India acquisced in the proposals, it but adds to the seriousness of their blunder. The result of their examination does not credit to their discerning powers. In the first place we do not understand their view that because there is equality of treatment, they need not interfere. Suppose same power got the upper hand in the country and reduced all the settlers to slavery. Would the Government of India in that case be justified in keeping quiet without raising a word of protest on behalf of Indians, because forsooth they were subject to that lot along with the rest of the people? Surely it is absured to suggest that Indians may be allowed to be treated with impunity along with others. In the second place it is not the case that there is real equality of treatment. The so called equality is mere paper equality. By the

proposed amendment of the courth the possibility of British Guiana developing into a colony in which the voice of the Indian settler will have substantial influece threaten to outgrow the whites in population does not suit the whites and that is why the whites wish that Guiana should be deprived of the democratic element in her courth, chiefly the power of the purse which vests in a democratically constituted court of policy. What is sance for the Indian gander there is not sance for the European goose. In depriving the court of policy than is the European. There is therefore really no equality of treatment. We are surprised that in a matter so limp as the future of the entire Indian community in the colony the Government of India consulted neither the Assembly not even the standing Emigration committee. We hope the Assembly will take measures to enter an effective protest at the Governments action.

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February 7. 1929.

LEADER.

It is not altogether without significance that high hopes are entertained about the political development in India in the immediate future by so knowing a Prince as His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. Proposing the toast of the King Emperor at the banquet given in honour of the viceroy on Tuesday last, the Maharaja wished that Lord Irwin's home may go down to pisterity as that of a Viceroy who made India a Dominion , he went on to say:

We wish British India in all cordiality to attain her rightful place within the Empire; and so may British India and Indian states by taking their place along side in the march of events, attain the ideal not only of a combined and grateful India but an India that may prove to be a some of a true and great strength to the Empire.

These are noble sentiments and if all Indian Princes hold tham and act accordingly, the freedom of India would be very much nearer of achievements than it is.

February 14. 1929.

LEADER.

The Congress leaders, in an appeal issued to-day, call upon the citizens of Madras "of all sections and communities to co-operate in the making the (Simon) boycott demonstrations wholly successful". They rightly lay down that "the hartal and boycott demonstrations should be spontaneous and willing". As they point out, "the boycott is a political boycott" and has no racial or communal implications". This fact is recognised by all parties as may be gathered from the appeal issued by Mr. Abdul Latiff Farookhi who is not a congressman. We publish the text if the appeal elsewhere and we confidently hope that the citizens of Madras will rise equal to the occasion and make the boycott entirely peaceful and successful.

March 5. 1929.

THE ARREST OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

We do not envy the authorities of Bengal the notoriety which they have brought on themselves by arresting Mahatma Gandhi for the part he took in regard to the police order prohibiting the burning of cloth at the Shraddhanand Part. The circumstances in which Mahatma Gandhi refused to obey the order are set out in his characteristically lucid way in the speech which he made just before he set fire to the pile of foreign cloth. He distinctly told the audience that it was not part of a campaign of civil disobedience, that he was not yet prepared to ask his countrymen to go beyond the four corners of the law and that he was acting contrary to the order because he was advised that the Shraddhananda Park was not a 'street' or a 'thoroughfare' within the

meaning of the Police Act. On a matter of such important one would expect the authorities to take legal opinion and to make sure of their ground both as to the legality and wisdom of their action before they ventured on a proceeding which they must have known was bound to have repercussions on the situation elsew elsewhere. It is extraordinary that they should have set about promulgating this prohibition in view of the well known fact that no calamitous consequences had followed the burning of foreign cloth on previous occasions. It is incredible that the arrest of Mahatma Ghandhi has been due more to the bungling of local officials than to a deliberate enunciation of policy by the higher authorities. The public cannot but recall in this connection the tell-tale statement which Earl Winterton made in the commans last week that measures were being taken to combat the cloth boycott movement in India. We reproduce that statement elsewhere and in the light of it it must be said that the actions of Sri Charles Tegart at Calcutta assumes a sinister significance. The country must as one man, face this debberate menace, for the issue now is not whether foreign cloth should be burnt or not.--as a matter of fact, Congressmen themselves are not all agreed on this point but whether the freedom of the citizens might be allowed to be attacked and processes of law permitted to be abused by intolerable mandates proceeding from White hall at the bidding of Pilchers and other representatives of Vested interests.

The Hindu
(March 11. 1929.)

"SWARAJ DAY.".

(A striking feature of the "Swaraj Day" celebrations held, throughout the country was the response of both Hindus and Mussalmans to the Congress Working Committee's call. Both the communities participated in the "Swaraj" processions held on the occasion and accorded warm

support to the main principles underlying the Nehru Report. That the Muslims no less than other communities in the land are keen on securing freedom was made clear at the Peshawar meeting largely attended by Muslims, when resolutions were passed supporting the decisions of the Calcutta Congress and declaring the Frontier Citizens readiness to make sacrifices in the country's cause.

April 1. 1929.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS.

It will be remembered that a deputation of the Soth African Indian Congress waited on the Ministers at Cape Town soon after the annual session in order to confer with them on several matters raised in the resolutions of the Congress. One of the questions discussed was the refusal of Magistrates in the Transval to grant exemptions to Indians at present serving as barmen and waiters to be so employed, in spite of the promise made at the time when the Liquor Act was passed that claims of persons in service would be safeguarded. There are we believe about one hundred Indians who were being threatened with unemployment on account of Magistrates refusing to exercise the discretion vested in them by law. We understand that the Union Government have now directed the magistrates to afford the necessary relief to the affected Indians on the ground that it was never intended to prejudice the rights of those who were employed by the liquor trade at the time of passing the Liquor Act.

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May 4. 1929.

AGA KHAN ON INDIA.

His Highness the Aga Khan's views on the Indian problem as he set them forth in an interview with The Daily Express of London are summarised by Reuter in a cable published elsewhere to-day. There will be general agreement in this country with his view that India has

too

too long been under the tightly held reins of Britian and that unless she was freed there would be trouble ahead. The Aga Khan's solution is the establishment of an Indian Federation or as his reference to prewar Germany suggests, a confederation of India sates. We are not told anything about the powers and jurisdiction or the new federal Government vis-a-vis the provinces and the states, but we suppose that His Highness is fully aware of the present trend or the Federal constitutions elsewhere such as the commonwealth of Australia and the United States of America and that he threfore contemplates India profiting by their experience. It is not clear what exactly is the sort of status, His Highness envisages forthe Indian states. If his idea is that there should be allowed to be under the sway of autocracy few will agree with him. A combination of autocracy and democracy into a federation may be found disadvantageous by all alike--the states, the British Indian provinces Act by the Princes. We hope however that the Aga Khan does not contemplate such an unenlightened solution of the problem as that.

September 30. 1929.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The All India Congress Committee at Lucknow also passed some important resolutions. While placing on record its admiration of the great self-sacrifice of J.N. Das and Phongyi Wizaya who died after a period of hunger strike, it uttered a word of caution in regard to the policy underlying this form of protest. Hunger strike is a weapon that should not be resorted too lightly and the committee did well in expressing its opinion that hunger strike should not be undertaken except upon the gravest emergencies and further called upon those who are now

imposing upon themselves this sacrifice, to cease today do so especially because the Government have consented to grant most of the demands. From a telegram which appears elsewhere, it will be seen that at Meerut, hunger strike has been suspended on accountant of Government having agreed to satisfy the hunger strikers and there is every hope that it will end in Lahore also. The situation in East Africa came in for a good deal of animated discussion in the committee and perfectly justifiable condemnation was expressed of the position assumed by the Government of India in their cable of March last to White Hall and of the novel extraordinary attitude assumed by Sir Fazli-Hussain in his statement in the Assembly. The Committee also called upon the Government of India to make an unequal declaration identifying themselves completely with agitation carried on by the Indian nationals in East Africa. The Government of India were further taken to task for failing to secure to the Ali Borthers the removal of unjust and insulting conditions imposed upon them in regard to their journey to South Africa. The work of enlisting members to the Congress hasnot, it is apprehended, been satisfactory in many of the provinces though of course, there have been at work causes which have militated against the complete success ofthe campaign of enlistment. The committee therefore has called upon the various congress organisations to push onthe work of increasing the membership so that by the time Congress meets, the full quote of membership required by the congress could be reached.

October 8. 1929.

LABOUR AND INDIA

It never rains but it pours. India is being at present deluged with cables from London, some announcing the imminence of an announcement about the political future of India, others explaining the limitations of such a statement if not also the danger of making any

declaration which would impair the prestige of Great Britain in the East. There have also been contraditions of these reports, some of the correspondents expatiating on the extreme, improbability of Labour, which is pledged to support the policy underlying the ~~Siniar~~ Simon Commission making any announcement before that commission has submitted its proposals. The latest news that has reached India is to the effect that white it is yet undecided whether Mr. Wedgwood Benu would visit India, it is likely that the Viceroy may refer to the Government's policy in this speeches after his return to India. On the face of it it seems improbable that this method of making an impartant announcement regarding India will be adopted. Another report has it that the cabinet has already decided to embody in the statute a provision to grant to India Dominion status within a period to be defined in the statute itself. It is not possible to say what degree of reliance if any may be placed upon these various and contradictory statements but two facts stand out prominently which compel the Government to come to a speedy decision on the subject. In the first place whatever the Siman Commission might do, its report must necessarily be incomplete, for that commission must leave out of account the place of Indian states in the future ~~coust~~ Constitution of India. And it is now recognised more than ever that the future of political India as a Dominion in the British Commonwealth cannot be decided without determing the poistion of Indian states in the constitution. Indian states and British India must advance together. In the second place it is obvious that the British Government have to follow a policy which would fit in with the political situation in India and no body who knows the mind of India at the present time judging by recent events can have a shadow of doubt

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that it would be the height of folly not to take immediate steps to satisfy the bulk of public opinion which demands the establishment of full responsible Government on the basis of full Dominion states as defind the Nehru Report or something very similiar ~~status as defined in the~~to it. In his message to the Labour Conference Mr. Wedgwood Benn is reported to have stated that after 4 months of hard daily work devoted to the study of Indian problems he was now in a position "to contribute something to Indian policy which will harmonise with the ideals of the Labour Party". If this statement means anything it means that the tutelage of India should end at once and that in the words of Mr. Bennspoor in 1927. "India must be recognised without unecessary delay, as a free, equal and unfeltered partner in the British commonwealth of Nations which is her inalienable right." Successive labour conferences have affirmed the necessity for the application of the principle ~~and~~ of self determination to India and demanded that India should be given Dominion status without any delay. Mr. Macdonald himself, when he was burdened with less responsibility than he now shoulders declared him in no halting terms that the British idea of putting off Indian self rule in order that she may be trainined for it by her British masters was folly because India was ready for self Government and the only training she needed was that of her own ~~experience~~ experience.

October 22. 1929.

BRITISH INDIA AND STATES.

In a speech delivered at Bikaner yesterday, His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner made certain observations regarding the future relations between British India and the states to which we should like to draw attention. H.H. sought to which we should like to draw attention. H.H. sought how it was foolish to think that the problem could be solved by resort to legal action and why the Princes ~~His Highness should~~ prefer "settlement by negotiation". In those negotiations His Highness the Maharaja recognises, British Indian leaders have an important place and might

play an impartant part. Indeed His Highness hopes that labour Government will have the foreright to summar a round Rable Conference consisting of the representatives of all parties concerned. It is exactly this method that the Assembly the congress leaders have all along suggested The standing committee of the chamber of Princes, which meets at Delhi on the 25th instant will, it is understood, discuss among other things Pandit Motilal's invitation to the Princes on behalf of the congress to discuss with the representatives of the latter the position of Indian states in the India of the future. We hope the standing committee will profit by the sage and states man will advice of His Highness Maharaja of Bikaner in this matter.

November 7. 1929.

INDIANS IN FIJI.

All the three Indian members of the Fiji Legislative Council have, as may be gathered from an Allahabad Message published elsewhere, resigned their seats on the council, following the rejection by that council of an Indian members motion for a common electoral roll. We are not surprised at the grave step our countrymen have taken to mark their protest against the council's decision, for that decision is unreasonable and quite opposed to all nations of fair dealing. The Indian Community in that colony has long been pressing for this small measure of reform and the European members of the council as well as the Fiji authorities and the colonial office are in possesion of all the arguements advanced by Indians in favour of a common elecotral roll. The Indian settlers in Fiji went to Fiji in circumstances which held out to them hopes of full citizenship. His Majesty's Government are under a solemn obligation not only to grant to Indians settled in the colony, land for cultivation but also all the other

privileges appertaining to citizenship. It is because of this fact that the representation of the Indians in the Legislative Council of the colony was recently raised from one non-official to ~~there~~ three and a special officer was appointed to advise the governor concerning the needs, rights and grievances of the Indians. The d-emand for a common electoral roll is based on the status that belongs of right to Indians as colonises in common with the white settlers. We hope the Government of India will stand by the Indians in the new crisis that has developed in the colony.

November 11. 1929.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER ~~BUSSTSOUT~~ BURSTS OUT.

That notoraous champion of reaction and repression Sir Michael O'Dwyer, is never happy unless he can secure an opportunity to vilify Indians. prophets of evil, like Sir Michael, realising that their poisoners council is not likely to make any impression, make a last effort to inflame ignorant opinion by mind exaggerations speaking at Oxford, Sir Michael warned Great Britain against the folly of accepting the swarajists plan because in the first place Indians princes would stoutly oppose any shceme which would force them to deal with an indigenous Government and in the second place, Indian Mahomendans "would invite the Afghans and the fronteer tribes to come to their assistance." It is difficult to believe that the pernicious propaganda can have any effect any where. Though Sir Michael spoke before the Viceroy's announcement was made, it can be proved that he has allowed his imagination to run not by reference to the reception, which that statemen has had from the princes and the Mahomedan community Already four distinguished Princes, the Maharajahs of Kashmir, Bikaner and Alwar and the Jams Sabeb of Novanagar

have cordially welcomed the announcement containing the promise the of Dominion status and pledged their co-operation in making the round Table Conference a success. We publish elsewhere the resolution of the working committee of the All-India Muslim Conference placing on record its appreciation of the endeavour of the Viceroy and as sons of India who "yield to none on their desire for freedom for their mother land", hoping for success of the conference. These declarations give the lie direct to Sir Michael's Vapurings.

November 12. 1929.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS.

A new era in the history of South African Indians may be said to have began onthe 14 th ultimo when in warwike Institute (Natal) the sastri college was opened by His Excellency the Governor Genera, Earl of Athlone, inthe presence of a large and distinguished gathering of Europeans and Indians. The institution which owes its origin to the initiative and far sighted statemanship of the Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, its financial stability to the liberal undedness of the Indian community there and the fruition of its whole scheme to the earnest endeavours of Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi will we have no doubt, fill up a huge word inthe educational life of South African Indians. It angurs well for the college to have requistioned the services of Six Specially qualified Indians who would go there all the way to work with patriotic zeal and in missionary spirity. The speeches made on the occasion of the opeing memory by Sir Kurma and His Excellency extracted elsewhere in these columns are characterised by a breadth of outlook and loftiness of aim which leave our hopeful of future of our countrymen in South Africa. In the course of his reply His Excellancy laid particular emphasis on the

ideal which Mr. Sastri had in mind when he conceived the plan of founding the college, namely that "it is the duty of every Indians who wishes to play the part of a citizen of this country, not only to submit cheerfully to the established political, social and educational system but to prepare himself and his children to take them proper place in the life of the country as a whole". While ideals may differ, few would refuse to joint with him when he wound up his address with a felicitons tribute to the college as "a fine example of personal effort by individuals for the good of a community, which is typical of the servants of India socrety of which Mr. Sastri is a distinguished member". The good wishes of all Indians irrespective of Communal credal or racial differences will be we are sure, with our brethern in South Africa in their zealous efforts to uplift themselves by taking full advantage of the sastri college.

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December 20. 1929.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru who is returning to India after strenous endeavours to persuade His Majesty's Government to do justice to Indians in Kenya has emphasised as will be seen from a Reuter's telegram published elsewhere, the impartant of public opinion in India being united and strong upon securing equality of treatment for Indians with the Europeans. The Franchise question involving a common electoral roll is impartant. No less important are the problems connected with the coimposition of the Legislative council, the constitution of local bodies, the admissionof Indians to the civil services and the improvement of fascilities for Indian education. The Government of India are vaguely stated to have put up a strong case on behalf of Kenya Indians. That may be so though it is difficult to dismiss from ones mind the very

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infavourable impression produced as regards their attitude by the pronouncements made by their spokesman in the Assembly inthe Simla session. Whatever may be the views pressed upon the colonial office on behalf of India it is imperative that at this ~~intical~~ critical movement when a final decision is pending, the Legislative Assembly should put forward its opinions in as ~~forable~~ forcible a manner as possible and in no uncertain terms.

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THE CONGRESS AND AFTER.

(We do not propose to day to examine the elaborate and the explanatory interview which Pandit Motilal Has given to the pressonthe lahore decisions whatever might be the ~~leaving~~ bearing of the declaration of Independence as the objective of the Congress on the programme of council entry it does not seem to us to affect in any way the views which we deemed it right to express on it. Pandit Motilal has referred to the history of the origin and the development of the Swaraj party and to the question of the starting of civil disobedience then proposed) We are afraid that a perusal of the text of the resolutions proceedings as well as the negotiations between the two congress parties at the time will not wholly bear out ~~of~~ the conclusion which Panditji is anxious to draw namely that it was because of the unability of the No-changers to start civil disobedience that the Swaraj party decided on council entry and got the A.I.C.C. and the special congress to permit it. Two alternative proposals of compromise were made at Allahabad in February 1924, in connection with the 3 months time between the two parties and the first proposal referring specifically to civil disobedience was rejected by the new party in favour of the one which did not make reference to it. So far as the state of the country and the atmosphere justifying the starting of civil disobedience is concerned, the Gaya congress resolution certainly declared that "the necessary atmosphere of non-violence for civil disobedience has been preserved in spite of all provocation "and called upon all congress workers to complete the preparations for offering civil disobedience". In the face of Mahatma Gandhi's repeated declarations that neither the country nor the congress is now ready to offer civil disobedience it cannot be said that the atmosphere is more favourable for the pro-changers in Lahore than it was for the No-changers at Gaya; Pandit Motilalji speaks throughout the interview as if the congress had resolved upon ~~an~~ actual civil disobedience as a ~~conseque~~ consequence of which the Swarajists should give up council entry. One has only to cite against it not merely Mahatmaji's earlier pronouncements but his latest statements published to day in

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which he emphasies again the unpreparedness of the country in respect of civil disobedience and the fact that he is still in the process of "discovering a workable formula of civil disobedience". On the question of the declaration of Independence Panditji's case entirely rests on the refusal of the Government to meet the national demand in terms of calcutta resolution we need not here discuss the bearing which the Delhi manifesto and the conditons therein laid down for participation in the Round Table Conference has on the decisions because the rejection of the Round Table Conference is not specifically referred to by him. We think that wise counsel has been given at this juncture. by srimathi Besantha Devi who has known the Swarajist mentality from the beginning. Having regard to the gravity of the steps contemplated, she asks both the British Government and the people of India to have a final searching of heart". We cordially endorse this appeal and though we are glad that the report of Earl Russel's speech has been corrected and a warning has been righly administered by Labour's official organ to the undersecretary even on the revised version of the pronouncement, we would fain hope that Lord Irwin as well as Mr. Wedgwood Berin equally with the congress leaders will give their anxious thought still to the best means of bringing about a peaceful solution.

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January 13 1930.

INDINAS IN MALAYA

The Government of India have decided to send a delegation to the Malay states and the straits settlements in order to study at first hand the condition of the Indian population resident in that part of the world. The exact terms of reference to this delegation are not yet available. It would appear however that they are not as comprehensive as they should be. There is a reference to the existing scales of wages in Malaya and doubtless the hours of work and provision for medical aid, maternity benefit to women workers, the education of children and so on will form the principal heads of study by the deputation. The nature of the questions pertaining to Indians in Malaya in which the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly havehitherto interested themselves reveals one fundamental defect in their outlook and the entire legislation connected with emigration from India is vitiated by that defect The Government of India, if the blunt truth be told is therein revealed as a labour selling agency whose business begins and ends with securing the best working conditions and wages for the Indians labourers. The Government of India have not higherto seriously addressed themselves to the question as to the future of the community in Malaya. Are the Indians in that territory to devote the best part of their lives to the development of that country only to receive in return a mere livelihood? Why should they be compelled or encouraged to condemn themselves to be nothing more than birds of passage a mass so far as their relations with the land are concerned of fleeting floating population with no state in the country? The history of Indians in other colonies and Dominions in South Africa infiji in Trimidad and in British guiana and so on ought to warn us against any policy of drift in regard to this matter. The present conditin of Indians in Malaya ought also to warn us against what if the existing state of things is allowed to continue,

the position of Indians will become in the future. To day our countrymen in Malaya are mere hewers of wook and drawers of water. This is the case although their contribution to the development of Malaya has in no way been inferior to that of any other community. Already the Indians are being dismissed as of no account. "Of the four peoples which are at present co-operating in the development of Malaya". writes professor Arnold Toynbee in an account of his visit to Malaya appearing in a recent issue of The Nation "there are only two which can conceivably play the leading part, the chinese and the British. And while the present and the past belonging to the British I fancy that the chinese hold the future of Malaya in their hands. It is noteworthy that both these peoples are strangers in Malaya " " The Native Malayas" he continues "seem to be allowing themselves were effaced and the immigrant Tamils though they shared with the Malayas the advantage of being at home in a tropical climate seem destined in Malaya to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. The race for primacy in Malaya will be run betweenthe British and the chinese and the prize will fall to whichever of these two peoples succeeds better in adapting itself to the tropical environment; I have little doubt that in this peaceful contest the chinese will be victors". We do not see why the position of Indians should be allowed to be so humble and precarious in Malaya. Whatever that may be, it is essential that we should clearly envisage the future of the Indian community there and shape our policy so as to accord with what we wish it to be.

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February 4, 1930.

LEADER.

Enemies of Indian freedom in England are apparently determined to adopt the meanest tactics in their anti-Indian campaign. The attempt to foist on the Indian students in London responsibility for the "bomb" found in the Indian section of the British Museum shows clearly that sinister interests are at work to compromise the positions of Indians in England. It is sometime now since the rumour was set afloat that the Indian students or at least some among them were laying deep plans to overthrow the British Government. This was not perhaps surprising for it was but part of the intensive propaganda launched by the die-hard press and politicians, but one was surprised to be told that the scotland yard took these suggestions seriously and began to shadow the "suspects". The ~~xxxxxx~~ amount of ~~xxx~~inconvenience and vexation that this procedure adds to the already existing difficulties of peaceful citizens who are making their sojourn in a foreign land are too obvious to need mention. More serious than this is the encouragement it is likely to afford to mischief mongers in their pleasant pastime of baiting the Indian students, of which probably the British Museum incident is an instance. Our London correspondent informs us that the affair has led to increased espionage on Indians in London, causing needless to say a corresponding increase in inconvenience we hope Mr. Benn will see that this is an intolerable situation and intervene before it is too late.

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February 6 1930.

OBJECT OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

The council of the western India National Liberal federation has passed a resolution to the effect that "the only rallying cry which can unite the different communities and classes can be dominion status for India, not as a distant goal or ideal but as an object capable of achievement within the shortest time possible". This is word for word a reiteration of the crucial sentence in the manifesto issued by the All India Liberal Federation on the conclusion of its Madras session so far as the Bombay Liberals are concerned their adoption of this formula no doubt marks an advance on the position taken by them when immediately after viceroy's statement was issued they made haste to declare that the offer of a Round Table conference contained in that statement should be unconditionally accepted. They would now apparently agree to nothing less than Dominion status "within the shortest possible time". But what is not clear is whether they or the justice party whose leaders have more unambiguously declared that their party stands for immediate Dominion status or the other parties in the country which while rejecting the congress creed of independence have nevertheless demanded full Dominion status realise that they are logically bound to make sure, before participating in the Round Table conference that it will have for its express object the framing of a Dominion constitution. There is nothing in the latest resolutions passed by the Bombay Liberals to show that they see the need for such clarification. That the need is there however will be the considered opinion of all who have carefully followed the course of events both in England and in India since the viceroy's statement was made. Anent Mr. Lloyd George's egregious outburst in The Daily Mail the London correspondent of the statesman points out.

"In his article Mr. Lloyd George goes the length of asserting in quotation marks that Mr. Baldwin was personally prepared to assent to an "early setting up of a Dominion constittion for Indian provided the commission approved of the idea". Later Mr. Lloyd George states that but for the objections of the

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simon Commission to the text of the Declaration of which they were asked to approve, "we should have been committed with the full consent of the conservative party through its chief spokesman, to an early grant of Dominion status to India as a whole". If there assertions are true, why it is asked, after two full days' discussion in the Lords and commons, did it never transpire nor was a single hint given by Mr. Lloyd george or any one close that between the original draft of the declaration and its ultimate published form there was all the world of difference between the promise of an "early grant" and an early setting up now first attirubuted in Lord Irwin and Mr. Baldwin and the pious expression of opinion as to the ultimate goal of India's constitutional development which the declaration actually contained? There is a mystery here which sadly needs elucidiating.

The mystery, it seems to us is only in the imigration of the correspondent who seems to have attached undue important to Mr. Lloyd george's having used quotation marks. That was probably only that fiery gentleman's emphatic WAY OF INDICATNG what in his view was the purport of the viceroy's remarks on Dominion status and at the same time bringing home to the minds of his audience the enormity of Mr. Baldwin's offence in having placed himself with in an ace of supporting the Governments Indian policy. Bot the text of Mr. Macdonald's reply to Sir John simon regarding the latter's proposal for extending the scope of the commission's enquiry and Mr. Baldwin's subsequent statement in the commons clearly show that the draft of the premier's reply to Sir John which Mr. Baldwin had originally approved contained a reference to India's political goal corresponding to that contained in the viceroy's statement and that Mr. Baldwin later withdrew his assent because the simon commission refused to associate itself with this reiteration of the goal. The letter as findly published had no reference to the goal, that this did not however indicate any modification of the Government's new policy was shown by the fact that the reiteration of the goal

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in the viceroy's statement was allowed to stand.

The important thing however to remember in view of recent developments is that so shrewd a critic as Mr. Lloyd George interprets the Viceroy's declaration in this respect as nothing less than an offer of an early grant of full Dominion status. That was how progressive India understood it too, but in view of the fact that strenuous attempts were made in interested circles to explain away the significance of the declaration the leaders in the Delhi manifesto demanded that the position should be made unequivocally clear. The Premier's letter to Mr. Baldwin after the commons debate the Labour Government's studious not to say embarrassed silence. Since then and worst of all, the Viceroy's address to the Assembly have gone far to confirm the suspicion that the Government may be trying to back out. If this suspicion is ill founded it is the easiest thing in the world for the Government to demonstrate this by plainly declaring that the object of the conference will be the framing of the Dominion constitution. The Bombay Liberals and others who are anxious to participate in the conference would be stultifying themselves and letting down the country if they went to the conference blind-folded without a definite declaration on this matter in accordance with the Delhi manifesto to which they were parties.

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February 22- 1930.

INDIAN AGENT IN CEYLON.

The planters' Association of ceylon cannot possibly do anythingbetter to confirm the view held widely that there is now a regular campaign to run down Indians in that Island than to suggest as would appear from a telegram published elsewhere, that the post of Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon be abolished we are not aware of any harm done to ceylon by the Agent which need have drawn on him the wrath of the Association but far from this move having the effect of reassuming the public in India as to the position of Indians in ceylon, it only proves the need for the Government to be firm and bold in regard to the question of the treatment of Indian nationals. It is now we believe the settled policy of the Government to appoint Agents in countries to which a large number of Indians have migrated in order to look after their interests and ensure to them decent conditions of living and fair treatment. Are Indians in Ceylon now so well cared for as to eliminate the necessity for having a special officer to protect their interests? The denial of equal franchise to Indians and the reasons urged in favour of this discrimination by the Governor do not exactly show that this stage is likelyto be reached soon. It is time, we think that the Government of India asserted themselves and told those concerned that the rights of Indians cannot be allowed to be trifled with with impunity

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March 1922. 1930.　51　10　2518

POLITICAL SITUATION.

We cannot forecast the utility to India of the newcommonwealth League, especially because it proposes to be above all parties and welcome members from all quarters. But its cardinal principles should be these defined by Mr. James Marley in the first lecture held under its auspices, the League might be expected to exercise some little influence on British opinion. Mr. Marley expressed his belief that if the Government had invited Indian representatives to a conference for the purpose of drafting a scheme of Dominion status, there would have been co-operation forthcoming but a conference on any other basis would be a colossal failure. The Government however would do no such thing and they are allowing things to drift. The Indian Daily Mail in the course of an article observes:

India is impatient and rightly so. The eager patriot is asking himself daily what has happened since the viceregal announcement? And the answer is nothing - - - - - The Government has not yet been able to bring down to the consciousness ofthe ordinary people of the country any realisation that anything is different in the real spirit of the administration.

It is precisely because of this failure on the part of the Government to evince a genuine change of heart which decided Mahatma Gandhi to launch his movement. The utteraances of viceroy and the secretary of State since the former's October statement have been pitched in a studiously minor key and generally reinforced the impression that Government were trying to go back upon a progressive policy made in a momentary mood of generous vision. And the provincial satraps and the massed forces of the bureacracy have sedulously fostered this impression by illiberal interpretations of the policy, by the use of language in regard to Indian aspirations which is by turns minatory, mocking and patronising and by encouraging the present violently anti-Indian propaganda we may in this connection refer to Sir Malcolm Hailey's harangue at Bara Banki of which we publish a summary elsewhere. His attempt to treat Mahatmaji's campaign in a light vein may satisfy his vanity and that of the bure-
... this attitude would be found to be suicidal in

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cracy but this attitude would be found to be suicidal in the end. It is surprising that while Mr. Wedgwood Berm publicly depreeates any reference to Mahatmaji's campaign which is likely to complicate the situation, the lesser gods do not hesitate to make offensive and provocationpronouncéments calculated, if not also designed to force their hands. The authorities would however do well to look about them carefully and take stock of the situation The ratification by the A.I.C.C. as a matter of course of the working committee decisions on civil disobedience and the cut by which the Bengal council without the congress party in it signified its disapproval of the Government's repressive policy are symtomatic of the rising temper of the people. If Labour fails to read these signs of the times aright it will not be acquitted of the awful responsibility for the consequences at the bar of humanity.

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March 27, 1930.

BRITISH PRESS AND GANDHIJI'S CAMPAIGN.

There is something pathetically ostrich like in the conspiracy of silence which the British Press is said to have gone into, in its efforts to kill Gandhiji's campaign. We will grant at once that in doing so it has imposed on itself a self denying ordinance, for who can be blind to the circulation value or long and sensational "news" items carefully selected and retailed under the authority of "special correspondent"? But one cannot resist a smile at the naivete of the "high authorities" who are said to have suggestedthis particular method as an "efective "form of discouraging the movement. According to the weekly "reynolds" which explains this sudden and seeming cessation of British Press interest in the salt satyagrah campaign "there is a strong feeling among the members of the Government that if the British newspapers ceased starring Gandhi's articles, his anti-British campaign would fall flat and peter out". We do not know whether the paper is really reflecting "the feeling of the members of the Government's reputation for political sanity not to say commonsense. That such a fantastic suggestion namely that a movement of the kind fxx promoted by Gandhiji can be killed by its being ignored should be acted upon by the British press only reveals the latter's distorted view of the Indian problem, fxx born of a suicidal refusal to face the fx realities of the situation we do not believe promoters of national movements. in the this country will be desolated by the threatened boycott by the British press; the success or the failure of these movements is something which xxxikxlyx is not dependent on the amount of publicity they get in the British Press. On the other hand all they want is to be left alone, to be spared the unwanted xkkxxxkkxxxattentions and publicity of the "men on the spot". It is much to be wished that the British press will stick to its resolve for them we will have at least heard the last of a style of journalism in which prejudice and propaganda regularly do duty for impartial news.

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March 31, 1930.

INDIA AND DEMOCRACY.

In an editorial on "Reorientation of Indian politics" in the first issue of Indian affairs, (his new quarterly, which has just been received in this country Sir Albion Benarji deals with common criticism levelled against India's demand for self Government that it would lead to the domination of the masses by a selfish intellegentasia. Those who voice this criticism ignore the fact that the intellegentsia is the natural leader of the people and that the mere fact of its emergence as a power to be reckoned with is a clear indication of national awakening which must find logical fulfilment in self Government. The days of ma-bap rule are over and Sir Albion explains why He begins with the proposition that "the British genuins for diplomacy and Empire building finds it fullest opportunity in an atmosphere of inefficiency corruption and intrigue and succeeds generally in evolving order out of chaos " and he goes on to point out that, as the western leaverof political and economic ideas has already begun to work and may be expected to make India increasingly self-reliant, "there will be no soon for the British administrator to occupy his former place of superiority and direction". He therefore counsels that Britain's dominant policy towards India should be "characterised by a genuine desire to surrender some of the privileges which she now enjoys and to allow India the fullest possible freedom within her own borders". Unless the powers thus relinquished by Britain ~~people baro~~ pass to a national Government "in which the voice of the people which has become articulate through the intelligentsia of the country finds its time expression" the economic evils from which India is suffering to day can not as Sir Albion rightly remarks be completely eradicated. In order that such a national Government may come into existence the civil service as at present constituted must go and "India must no longer be denied the fullest discretion to recruit her own public servants from the Indian people. . . . and for that matter from any part of the Empire after exhausting the resources of India itself." The "national Government"that Sir

Albion envisages is thus the Government of the country by its own intellgentsia a suggestion which is gall and worm-wood to the craddocks and the O'Dwyers but which Sir Albion adequately and simply justifies by pointing out that it is in the intellegentsia that the voice of the people becomes articulate.

It would be however wrong to jump from this to the conclusion that what India wants or would be satisfied with is the substitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy and that it has no use for democracy. Mr. M.E.Watts (described as lately prime Minister of Travancore) in his article on "The Popular Outlook in India". contributed to the same journal gets involved in this fallacy. The sub-title "whether Rama rules or Ravana" sufficiently indicates the trend of his argument which is that 95% of India's population is not politically minded and would be quite willing to be governed by the intelligentisia (the remaining 5%) if it is assured of reasonably good village and district management since that alone directly impuges upon its well being so it is this 5% he argues, "that will constitute the democracy of the country the enfranchised few as was the case in Britain before the first second and third reform Bills" Mr. Watts's democracy is a very truncated one. In positing that this is the utmost that India can realise in the way of democratic rule he seems to have forgot his English analogy. Here in India no more than in England can the march towards full representative government be arrested, for the 95% is even to day neither so apathetic nor so unintellegently content as Mr. Watts imagines it to be and every day that passes will find it less and less so thanks to the progress of education and to the spirit of the times whatever may have been the case in the past a self-governing India will not be ruled by an oligarchy however eminent, enlightened and altruistic; we suspect it is the natural bias of the officials mind that is responsible for Mr. Watts's different conclusion. True democracy that the voter who need not take a direct part in the Government shall exercise his vote intelligently in the choice of representatives who must necessarily be limited in number with a broad the future for democracy is perhaps more bright in India than in other places which have for long enjoyed the semblance of representative institutions without benefitting by the spirit thereof.

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April, 20, 1930.

" REPRESSION CAMPAIGN."

Our news columns to day show that the Government's repression campaign is becoming more and more intense. In our own province several arrests have been made in Andhra Desa. Leaders like Mr. Bulusa Sambamurti and Mr. T.Viswanadham who had incurred the ire of the authorities have been arrested. A system of rigorous censorship of news appears to have been established in consequence of which telegram's booked by our correspondents two days back from Vizag and elsewhere were received in our office only late last night. That the policy of repression has become universal and is being probably directed by the central Government is evidenced by the circumstance that in provinces where hitherto there had been no arrests and prosecutions there has now been a crop of arrests. In Bombay Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has been arrested; in Bihar a similarf fate befall certain volunteers, though subsequently they appear to have been released; in U.P.repression is in full swing, in the Punjab, in Bengal in sind in Delhi in Karnataka everywhere there has been a violent outburst of police activity. Nor is it less significant that recourse is had not to any particular method of law All provisions of the Penal and the procedure codes seem to have been carefully explored with a view to suppress the the Satyagraha campaign. In addition to prosecutions directly under the salt Act and indirectly under the Penal code against those who according to the officials incited more than 10 persons to commit an offence orders have been passed under section 144 against Satyagrah volunteer warning them against manufacturing Salt in defiance of magesterial orders not to do so offices not only of newspapers and congress organisations but also private houses have been searched. In many other ways too the limbs and the "majesty" of law and order have sought to make themselves felt by the public. Notwithstanding all this ostentations display of might, the satyagraha movement has not only shown no signs of fading but is fast spreading and gathering increasing strength.

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April 27, 1930.

MR. PATEL AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The text of Mr. Patel's letter to the Viceroy, published elsewhere in which he has conveyed his resignation of the Presidentship of the Legislative Assembly is a document of great public interest. It forms not only a definite and striking landmark in the closing chapter of the Montagu Chelmsford Reform scheme but it is the culmination of a political situation in which there will no longer be left any doubt in the minds of any political party in the country as to the intentions or policies of the Government in relation to the national demand for Swaraj. Mr. Patel entered the Assembly in 1924 in pursuance of the Congress programme of council entry for enforcing the national demand in accordance with the programme and plan laid down from time to time by the Swarajya party. His election to the Presidentship of the Assembly was also in pursuance of the then congress policy in this respect and throughout his occupancy of the chair Mr. Patel has never for a moment allowed himself to forget that the realisation of the national aim of making India's mock Parliament into a real parliament should be the patriotic motive animating him in the discharge of his high duties. While as he has pointed out he had at no time during the tenure of his office "accepted the ~~xadax~~ mandates of any political party in or outside the House", he had at no time forgotten either that "circumstanced as India is, a situation might arise when in the larger interests of the country, the President of the Assembly might feel called upon to tender his resignation with a view to return to a position of greater freedom That such a situation should have been allowed to arise in the case of Mr. Patel seems to us clearly to show that Lord Irwin and Mr. Bern have definitely given up the principles and policy that had animated them in october last and that had produced a remarkable impression on our countrymen at that time. None but an enemy of national interests would therefore quarrel with the fact that in the position which he occupied and consistently with the unflinching and independent discharge of his duties Mr. Patel

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"endeavoured in his own humble way for the last 4 years to prevent the development of a crisis in the history of the country "by pleading with Lord Irwin, to whose sincerity and goodwill towards him he has paid a tribute, for a peaceful settlement of the Indian problem. The solution that he pressed for was are based as the points out, "on the frank and full recognition by Britain of India's claim to complete Dominion status without reservation the method of giving effect to that decision being examined by a joint and equal conference between the plenipotentianes of the two countries That, in spite of the best endeavours made in this behalf this has not come about but only a so called Round Table conference is to be called which is bound hereafter to be a futile and mischievous means of obstucting the realisation of India's destiny is fully elucidated by President Patel in his letter, who very definitely and clearly puts the entire responsibility for such a result on the Government and its policy since the October announcement. Everyone in the country not obsessed with bureaucratic leanings will accept this authoritative statement of the actual position from Mr. Patel who it will be recollected was anxious even after the decision of the congress in December last refusing the offer of the Round Table Conference to find a way of peaceful settlement between the congress leaders and the Government. "I am convinced", says Mr. Patel now "that Mr. Gandhi stands fully vindicated in the attitude he had taken up that he was not prepared to advise the congress to participate in the Round Table Conference in London unless there had been full and frank recognition of India's claim to complete Dominion status without any reservation and unless it was made clear that the conference was to meet to explore the methods of giving effect to such a decision.". Especially will this statement carry weight with the country because Mr. Patel has come to the conclusion after further correspondence and interviews which His Excellency the Viceroy on these important matters. The political significance of his resignation therefore can hardly be exaggerated.

Mr. Patel has taken what he described as the only course open to him namely that of standing shoulder to shoulder with his

own countrymen in the struggle for freedom which has been started under Mahatma Gandhi's lead. It is perhaps too early to speculate upon the part he will take in the struggle but there is little doubt that the country will welcome back the old fighter and give him all the support and goodwill it can. It is unnecessary on this occasion to attempt even a brief review of Mr. Patel's distinguished services to the country as the fiest elected President of the Assembly. The extent to which he enlarged the bounds of the country's freedom by developing the rights and liberties of the elected representatives of the people in the Legislative Assembly by the establishment of conventions and precedents by the enunciation of rulings and principles that to quote Mr. Baldwin himself, reminded one of Lord Ullswater are all too recent and within the recollection of the public to need recapitulation at their juncture. In the fight between the bureaucracy and the peoples representatives Mr. Patel as Speaker, has intervened so often in the protection of the liberties of the members that it is difficult to think that even when the Assembly is democratised in the coming constitution they will be able to find a better spokesman of the peoples parliament than Mr. Patel,. But for the moment, the mind of the country is concentrated on the struggle now going on and the people will only feel gratified and strengthened by the prospect of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel once again joining the ranks of the Great leaders of the people engaged in the fight for freedom.

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April 29, 1930.

INCIDENTS AT THE TILAK GHAT.

The deplorable incidents that occured at Triplicane Beach on the 27th instant have made the citizens of Madras wonder whether there is some inscrutable force at work which will not without provoking or precipitating a disturbance, allow them to exercise their normal political and civic rights, including their right to hold public meetings. Of the splendid success of the days meeting there can be no two opinions. Not only the numerical strength of the gathering but its fully representative character bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the people of the city as a whole sympathised with the object of the meeting, viz to express condemnation of the action of the police in using force on the Satyagrahis and innocent citizens in the name of law and order. The citizens assembled were quite orderly and peaceful till almost the very end of the meeting. Why the authorities thought it necessary to seek to disperse the meeting and indulge in indiscriminate assaults on the gathering has not yet been satisfactorily explained. A large crowd had gathered on both sides of the Beach Road and were indulging in demonstrations to express their resentment at the conduct of the police in having beaten the satyagrahis on the High Court Beach. Such demonstrations as arise out of this, we gather tended to obstruct traffic. The police would have been within their rights if they had contented themselves with keeping the road clear of the crowd or diverting the traffic as they did later. The Police authorities were not unaware of the state of feeling in the public mind in respect of their activities during the previous days. In the circumstances, the greatest exercise of forbearance and tact was required on their part. Instead the authorities indulged in a display of force which seems to have acted as an irritant. Buses containing armed police paraded the Beach Road and mounted so-wars followed. The pressure of the crowd on the Marina Road and the demonstrations grew in intensity and the mounted sowars were ordered to charge the crowd. These assembled in meeting had not the slightest reason to suppose that the police who they thought were charging the crowd only in the act of controlling the traffic on the Marina Road,

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would turn their attention to the meeting and fall upon them and launch an indiscriminate charge. We are told in what is stated to be the "official" version of the incidents that the police had to turn their attention to the meeting because the crowds from both sides of the road rushed to the sands and the police had to chase them. There was no need for the police to chase them into the meeting in order to control traffic and the police had no business to be there for any other purpose. Had the police kept aloof from the meeting, the unfortunate attack on Inspector chelladorai, which every citizen will deplore and condemn, would not have occurred. The decision to disperse the meeting was thus a grevious blunder. Even more lamentable was the firing incident at the Pycroft's Road. The official version so far available by no means established the necessity for firing on the part of the police. There was some stone throwing on the part of the mob which did not disperse in spite of warnings. Thereupon the order to fire was given and some rounds of shot were fired. It is not alleged that if firing had not been resorted to the police woul would have been overwhelmed. It was past 8 O'clock when firing was resorted to. At the time the crowds had nearly cleared and the exercise of patience for quarter of an hour, or at the most half an hour might have seen the end of the trouble. Instead there was firing and lathi charge in consequence of which two lives were lost and a lot of misery caused to innocent citizens. The Government should immediately order an independent and searching enquiry by a committee of men possessing the full confidence of the people.

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April 30, 1930.

MORE PIN-PRICKS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The major problems affecting Indians in South Africa are serious enough in all conscience. Their satisfactory solution requires tact and courage on the part of Indian leaders and sympathy and adherence to pledges on the part of the members of the cabinet of the union Government. The trading licences question and the threat of depriving the Indians of the lands owned by them in Transvaal are now being inquired into by a select committee of parliament, but there are quite a number of minor, though in themselves important, issues which are agitating the Indian Community and involve if they are decided against Indians, the infliction of heavy loss and injury on sections of the Asiatic population for instance the Durban Town Council has before it certain bye-laws framed by the chief constable restricting Indians hawkers and pedlars, about 45 of them, from doing business in certain portions of a few streets in the city. The number is so small that they cannot possibly be said to constitute a menace to European shop keepers and the hawkers who have been doing this business for quite a number of years would be reduced to penury by this unjust restriction. Another question which affects very deeply the sentiments of the Indian community is that of segregation The humiliation involved in this method of confining the Indian community in reserves is obvious and has been admitted by the Government on a number of occasion. But so persistently is the anti-Indian agitation carried on by selfish whites that proposals for confining Indians to pens are being repeatedly brought up before various public bodies. In Johannessburg the public Health committee of the city council is being asked to take measures which would have the effect of convicting an area which is now inhabited by many classes of people into a 'location' for Indians. Mr. Amod Jajbhai, a wealthy property owner in the malay location in Johannesburg, in a press interview protested warmly against the proposal and referred in the following terms to pledges given by the sough African Government in regard to this matter.

We feel that it would be wrong in principle to Say that Indians should live segregated in the localtion. The Indian

Government and the South African Government decided at the last conference that class areas will be dropped in view of the fact that Indians could not be put in locations because it would mean racial stigma to the Nation itself. If the segregation policy is to be adopted in this case we shall strongly oppose it. The Indian deputation on their arrival in South Africa strongly advised us not to agree to any segregation policy and so we shall oppose the removal of any coloured people from the location because their removal would have the effect of turning that area into a location for Indians."

These and other proposals made from time to time by white representatives are designed apparently to make the position of Indians in South Africa intolerable. It is believed that a policy of pin-pricks would lead to Indian leaving the country altogether rather than submitting themselves to repeated assaults on their honour and their interests. But the white settlers are ~~xxxx~~ counting without the host. Apart from the fact that most of the Indians are colonial born and have never known India, they have already passed through troublous times and acquired the necessary grit, patience and strength not only to withstand hardships which may be imposed upon them by the Government but to get their grievances redressed by the adoption of non-violent ~~xxx~~ methods. The only policy therefore for the union government to adopt consistently with their own interests and with justice to the people concerned is to treat the Indians in South Africa as members of the permanent population in regard to whom measures for uplift, material and moral have to be undertaken by them - a policy which is definitely laid down in the Cape Town Agreement. So far as the Indian population is concerned the desire to leave South Africa under the terms of the assisted emigration scheme appears to be dying out. According to The Natal Advertiser, "the next shipment is not scheduled to leave Durban till June the last shipment having left at the end of March with 295 Indians" "Indian opinion says that the officials of the department dealing with repatriation are of the opinion that there is not likely to be any increase in the number of Indians desirous of leaving

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This diminution in numbers is apparently due to the fact that reports have reached South Africa of the troubles and hardships. undergone by repatriated Indians in India who, owing to want of suitable occupation have to emigrate either to ceylon or the strait being unable to return to south Africa. This phenomenon clearly demonstrates the need for the south African Government to think no more of driving out Indians from the union but to inagurate measures for their social and political progress so that they might be-come full-fledged citizens of south Africa.

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May 1, 1930.

THE CONVICTION OF MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR.

The attitude of the Police and magistracy at Vedaranyamwhere Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar led the Tamil Nadu volunteers for the purpose of Salt Satyagraha yesterday morning furnishes refreshing contrast to the happenings in the city. The public will be relieved to find that far from seeking to disperse peaceful satyagrahis by means of baton charges the District Superintendent of Police and his subordinates at Vedaranyam limited their activities to an attempt to seize the centrabound salt in the possession of the satyagrahis and to disperse them by the promulgation of an order under section 127. When the Satyagrahis refused to disperse or to part with the contraband property, the police proceeded to arrest the leader and take him into custody for trial immediately with the result that the satyagrahis walked away peacefully with the salt they had scraped and there was no necessity whatever to use any violence of any kind at any stage of the proceedings. Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar on pleading "guilty", was convicted by the Magistrate and sentenced to 6 months simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs, 200 with 3 months additional imprisonment in default of payment of fine. The police appear to have treated Mr. Achariar with the consideration and courtesy due to a patriot who was for over a decades sacrificed his all in the service of his country and who is are of the foremost lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi not only in the precept and practice of non-violence as a creed, but also in the performance of social and political service to the motherland in the propagation of the Khadi movement of the anti-drink campaign and the anti-untouchability movement and may other movements, for the uplift of his countrymen. It will be not merely among congressmen that the keenest regret will be felt that such an illustrations patriot and national worker has been incarcerated and prevented from continuing the strenuous work that he has been carrying on in the cause of the country.

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May 9 1930.

REPRESSION NOT THE REMEDY.

Those short sighted people who had imagined that the Government had only to imprison Mahatma Gandhi and inagurate a regime of "firm" rule to find a final solution of the a regime of Indian problem will now find a reason to revised their opinion if only they do not deliberately shut their eyes to facts. Mahatmaji has now been safely lodged in the Yerawada jail and of resolute repression there is overwhelming evidence all around. Hundreds have been sent to prison and if thousands more are not inside jails, it is because the Government are unwilling to arrest all offenders or would be offenders who are offer themselves to be arrested. The Government have been obliged we are told to use force in dispersing civil resisters in order to reduce arrests to the minimum and this use of force has had unfortunate reaction leading in some cases to bloodshed. No reasonable man will seek to minimise the results of outbursts of violence or would hesitate to condemn them. But the fact remains that such outbreaks of violence ~~or would hesitate to condemn them. But the fact remains that such~~ outbreaks of violence as have occured have been due, not to the Satyagrahi civil resisters but to others. Nothing is more disconcertions to Gandhiji than the exhibition of violence on the part of non-satyagrahis. Acts of violence cannot possibly help the movement and are bound to evoke reprisals resulting in misery to the innocent. Repression is resented by the people and the resentment which sometimes finds expression in violence is met with further doses of repression. Thus do events run in a vicious circle.

How is this circle to be broken? Public opinion in the country as a whole not merely the congress is unanimous that it cannot be broken by "firm" rule. That is the meaning of the resignations, which are being announced in quick succession of legislatures. The resignations of Mr. Ratnasi. D.Morarji from the Council of State and prof. Swaminarayan in Bombay, of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, the Deputy president of the Legislative Council and Mr. L.K.Tulsiram, Mr. Venkatarangam Naidu and Mr. B.Choudhry in our own province and others prove the truth of this statement

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So does the letter Mr. Jaykar to Sri A.P.Patro proclaim the futility of repression. The executive of the great commercial organisations of Bombay have given unmistakable expression to their disappointment at the Government's policy and to their determination not to have anything to do with the force of a "Round Table Conference" which Lord Irwin and Mr. Benn are still planning to stage. The Indian commercial community in Calcutta is of the same view. The representation of the Presidents of the Indian chamber of commerce the National chamber of commerce calcutta, the Iron Merchants Association the Jute Balers' Association, the Indian Mining Federation, the Marwari Trades Association, the Indian produce association and other similiar bodies shows how unamimous the Indian commercial community is in its opinion of the Government's policy, we publish a summary of their representation in our telegraphic columns. It will be seen that in it they not only condemn the "indulgence in indiscriminate assaults on peaceful citizens the abuse of law and the policy of general terrorism" which they point out characterise the official handling of the situation but also warn. His Excellency the Veceroy that "of the intention of all these is to create terrorism, we assure your excellency that it is bound to fail". The spokesmen of the commercial community go on to conclude that only by conciliating the Indian leaders might the situation be saved.

It will be a grave error on the part of Lord Irwin if he chose to disregard the views of these great organisations which are by no means identified with the congress. If anybody values peace and the maintenance of law and order it is the commercial community. Like Mr. Jayakar it condemns the attitude of "belligerenc which the government have assumed, not realising the fatal implications thereof. Such an attitude is bound to be barren. This fact it will be clear from a special cable to us to day is being recognised by discerning observers in England. As Mr. Brailsford says, the Grant of self rule to India cannot for long be delayed. For, as the manchester Guardian shrewdly pointed out in mail week the times have passed by when "a few simple administrative economic reforms might quiet the peasantry. Our contemporatry continued:

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There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so For hundred or rather thousands of years the Indian villager has patiently put up with conditions more intolerable than those which he has to endure to-day. The change is not in the external conditions but in his mind. Once he regarded his environment as something which he was powerless to alter. Now he has been taught to hope that it is within his power to change it ; It isa a sure of power, not hopeless misery that makes men rebels.

The fact is the Indian movement today is a mass movement. To seek to placate it by nonslating repetition of empty formulas such as these embodied in the recent viceregal utterances is to invite ridicule. To seek to suppress it by repression is to feed its flames with well dried full. One wishes the authorities responsible for India administration to ~~dxxx~~ day had the vision to realise this and the statemanship to follow up that realisation by the only action that could mend matters.

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69 28 2554

June 14, 1930.

MR. SASTRI ON INDIAN SITUATION.

The Rt. Hon'ble V.S.Srinivasa Sastri's outspoken pronouncement on the Indian situation will be much appreciated in this country and should make the Government pause in their policy, of repression cum-drift. He points out that the time for half measures is long past and that the forthcoming conference will be doomed if they do not agree to a political amnesty and clearly state their intention "to support the grant of Dominion status". From Mr. Reginald Reynolds' article in The political Quarterly which we extracted yesterday, it will be seen that this substantially represents Gandhiji's position also; according to Mr. Reynolds, "Gandhiji had again stated that his criterion was the willingness of the Government to stand or fall on a Dominion status Bill". when two such men as Gandhiji and Mr. Sastri are agreed on this all important point, it would be idle for the Government to pretend that any responsible section of Indian opinion would be satisfied with anything less. We are glad that Mr. Sastri Dr. Tagore and others by their frank and weighty utterances are counteracting the pervasive propaganda of the anti-Indian die-hands. It is no longer possible for the British public to plead ignorance;

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70 29 2556

June 17, 1930.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

(Elsewhere will be found the full text of the weighty representation made by Indian leaders at Ootacamund to the Hon. the Law Member in regard to the classification of prisoners xxxxx and their treatment. It is a lucid exposition of the case for a generous enforcement of the rules promulgated in March last by the Government of India. The Government must impress upon the subordinates the need for placing political prisoners either in class 'A' or class 'B' impressing upon them the fact that class 'C' is not at all suitable to this class of prisoners. There appears to be considerable reluctance on the part of Magistrates to entitled place prisoners under class 'A' though they may be entitled to this treatment by virtue of their education and status So few indeed have been placed under class 'A' that the government might as suggested, review all the cases of political prisoners now in jail with the assistance of non-officials from the districts There are many instances of prisoners who ought to be placed in 'A' class who have however, been put by the Magistrates in the 'B' class. With regard to the representation that even when a trying Magistrate recommends a prisoner to be placed in the special classes the prisoner is treated for an indefinite period as a 'c' class priso prisoner till orders of the higher authorities are received, we understand that orders have already been issued that pending the final orders of the Government prisoners ought to be placed by jail officials in the class recommended by the convicting Magistrates The complaint is made that the District Magistrate sometimes changes the class into which a prisoner may be placed by the trying by the trying Magistrare and places him in a lower division. The case of Mr. Bikkeni Venkataratham is ~~are~~ one in the point. The convictin Magistrate placed Mr. Venkataratnam in 'B' class but we understand that the District Magistrate howerver, transfered him in 'C' class we hope that the other suggestions regarding unsuitable labour demanded of the political prisoners, the diet given to them and the allotment of a separate jail for 'A' and 'b' class prisoners will receive the early attention of the Government. Government would also be well advised to order enquiries whenever complaints are made to them of harsh treatment meted out to prisoners either before or after conviction or during transfer,

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July 2, 1930.

THE BAN ON GANDHI CAP.

An Associated Press message from Ootacamund gives what purports to be the official explanation of the guntur Magistrate's order prohibiting the wearing of Gandhi caps. The message says:-

Enquiries shows that the order has been passed more in the interest of Gandhi cap weavers as it was represented to the District Magistrate that Gandhi cap weavers as it was represented to the District Magistrate that Gandhi cap wearers were assaulted by these objecting to the caps.

In order that our readers may judge for themselves now far this explanation is sustainable, we print below the text of the orginal order:-

"Whereas the public tranquility has been disturbed by the civil disobedience movement and the wearing of the Gandhi cap is a symbol of sympathy with that movement and whereas information has been laid before me that a message is about to be issued to public in general at which will have the effect of inciting them to wear Gandhi caps and disturb the public tranquility, I.F.M. Stewart Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate consider that immediate prevention is desirable and direct every member of the public in general to obstain from wearing a Gandhi cap when in any place fregmented by the public within the limits of guntur Municipality and a radius of 5 miles therefrom for a period of 2 months from this date (Sd) F.M.Steward, District Magistrate",

Among the contradictions of and damaging implications with which the explanation teems are fact stands out and that will become apparent to any man in the street.He will look bi vain in it for the slightest hint of the object of the order in terms described in the explanation emanating from official sources. The language of the order is plain; it is certainly not capable of this latter day interpretation. Apart from this one wonders if the official apologists realise the light in which they present these whose duty it is to uphold the elementary rights of citizens and who it is that it is suggested, shay at the Gandhi Cap: we

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are told it was represented to the District Magistrate that wearers of Gandhi cap were being assaulted. Presumably the reference is to the representations made by the deputation of citizesn in respect of the conduct of the police in modesting persons wearing Gandhi caps and the magistrate, instead of administering the police, prevented the people from weaving Gandhi caps doubtless acting on the principle that prevention is better than cure.

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July 12, 1930.

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

His Excellency Lord Irwin's address to the Indian Legislature on wednesday dealt at some length with the question of Indians overseas but added little to either the information on the subject at the disposal of the public or extended any hope to the people of India that vigorous protests would be made in respect of the treatment meted out to Indians in countries like ceylon or South Africa. The white paper of course has arrived at the conclusions some ofwhich are satisfactory but Indians in East Africa have other grievances which have not at all been referred to by the ViceroyIt is to be apprehended that the Government of India have not realised the objectionable character of the passifield despatch on Indian franchise in ceylon., insisting on a certificate of permanent domicile. The postponement of the Transvaal Asiatic Land ownership Bill was referred to by the viceroy but our readers will remember that this has nothing to do with Indian objections to that measure. The Transvaal Indians are at present threatened with complete loss of trade and expropriation of their landed property, besides the danger of being segregated. The report of the select committee of the Union parliament is a document which is extremely provocative and it will need all the strength of purpose which the Government of India could summon to their aid to resist the white attack on the Transvaal Indians.

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74 33 2564

August 19, 1930.

"ANTI INDIAN PROPAGANDA."

The fact that India almost for the first time in history is attracting world wide attention is having some curious reactions. The British Press which used to maintain what was nothing less than a conspiracy of silence over Indian afairs is very much disturbed by the fact that what has hitherto been ~~disturbed by the~~ regarded as a domestic concern of the Empire should be discussed are the world over and particularly in the American Press, with scant regard for imperial susceptibilities. Injured innocence is as one would expect in the circumstances, the pose that the apologists for firm policy in India adopt . They point out that the for Indian 'propaganda' in the American (and foreing) press is the work of malignant Anglophobes) This is the cue adopted for instance by Dr. Edward Thompson poet novelist and sometimes professor in a Bengal college who is now visiting professor at an American university and is assiduously doing his bit to prepare the ground for the 'Indian propaganda which Sir John simon is expected to undertake while in America. In three articles contributed to The Times recently, Dr. Thompson purported to expose the fallacies and general mischievious intent of American writers on the Indian struggle., His method was one that comes naturally to all who preach to the converted. It was to string together a number of quotations torn from their context and without making any attempt to refute that in detail to dismiss them with supercilious or horrified ejaculations and at the same time quickly to ignore the really serious criticism. And yet this unde and ineffective rejoinder has been welcomed with a chorus of praise by the Britsh Press in which even the more serious week his join when the distress in anti-Indian circles is thus so widespread at the prospect of the world learning something of the truth it is not surprising that they should be no less anxious that the British public should continue in blissful ignorance as to the posture of affairs over here. In launching an appeal for funds

for the Indian Empire society of which that redoubtable triumviate Lord Sydenham, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock are leading lights the signatories point out" the grave risk that India may be sacrificed to the clamour of the extremists". All talk of of immediate dominion states is denounced as disastrous surrender; "British trade with India must suffer and with it every man and women worker. British investments in Russia- - - - The consequences to the Indian millions would be even more disastrous". The Indian millions do not need the championship of these ancient die-hards but what does the British businessmen and investor think of it? The spectator, with a nice sense of irony printed this Thodomontade side by side with a letter written by a British Bank agent in India to a friend in England in which an altogether differen t picture is painted. British trade will undoubtedly suffer, says this this correspondent but that will not because dominion status is granted but because it is withheld." I tell you that if we do not give them home Rule We will lose our trade. No act of Parliament can force a country to trade with us. I tell you in all solemonly that Indians are prepared to run themselves if necessary in the same spirit that the Dutch flooded their own land in the fight for freedom". It is incidentally to prevent such unpalatable truths being told that the Indian Empire sourcely asks for funds.

76 35 2568

September 8 1930.

PANDIT MOTILAL'S RELEASE.

(The news of the release of Pandit Motilal Nehru will be received with considerable relief and satisfaction by the Country which has been much agitated by the accounts of his serious ill-health. He had declined to be released on grounds of clemency) That Lord Irwin's Government nevertheless have felt bound to do their duty by him and by the country is, we venture to heope of happy angury for the future. It closes a painful chapter which might have been avoided with consequences altogether more propitions than those which did result and which can as yet be but imperfectly comprehended. And we think we shall not be expressing merely a poins hope when we regard it as indicating the possibility of a new and more helpful turn in the tide of public events. The peace move which has just proved abortive suffered from the initial handicap that it had to be carried on through intermediaries. Those the country is deeply tensible of the patience tact good sense and high patriotism displayed by the mediators themselves the congress leaders felt that they being behind the prison walls., laboured under a great disadvantage. (The Nehrusin their first letter to Gandhiji had stated "Both of us are in prison and for some time past have been cut off from the outside world and the national movement cut off as we are from the national movement we cannot take upon outselves the responsibility of taking a definite step without the fullest consultation with our colleagues and especially Gandhiji") That Gandhiji and other leaders at Yerawada felt the difficulty no less may be gathered from their last reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar in the course of which they observe.

As prisoners we labour under an obvious handicap. Our opinion is based as it must be, on second hand evidence and thus the risk of being faulty. It would be naturally open to those in charge of the congress organisation to see any of us. In that case and when the Government itself is equally desirous of peace, they should have no difficulty in having access to us.

This passage at the same time shows a way out of the impasse which can and should be availed of and which it seems

to us Pandit Motilal Nehru's release at this juncture makes it easier to utilise. It was the interview he gave to Mr. Slocombe that the peace parleys were prolonged so far only because while the intermediaries strongly felt that there was little difference in essentials between Pandit Motilal's first statement and the viceroy's letter to Mr. Jayakar which was the immediate result of it the congress leaders felt there were grounds for their thinking otherwise and asked that the position of the viceroy should be made fully clear in order to assess its value in terms of the National Demand. A breakdown might have been avoided if the viceroy realising the necessity for elucidating his meaning fully, had seen his way to make a more definite and cleaner statement in his last letter. This unfortunately was not done but that is no reason why it should not be done now. The Daily Herald, the official organ of the Labour Government has the vision to ~~xxxxxx~~ see and the courage to state the matter in this light. It observes:

If Government make it plain the conference is called to arrange with essential temporary safeguards for a self-governing India and will not be confined within the frontiers of the simon Report it has done its part. If the congress on that promise and on condition that political prisoners are given amnesty call off civil disobedience and come to the conference it has done its part. These with commonsense and goodwill, ought to ~~seems~~ secure peace and prosperity to India.

This suggestion that the British Government should now make its position plain in terms of self Government ~~should now make its position plain in terms of self Government~~ and essential temporary safeguards for a self-governing India, is one which we think the Governments both in England and in India ought to accept without any delay whatever the difficulties may have been that stood in the way of their accepting it earlier. If they do so and reopen negotiations with the congress through Pandit Motilal on this basis we think that its assessment in terms of the national Demand will be made by the Congress leaders on the broader footing

referred to in their first letter especially as it seems to us, the principles underlying most of the subsidiary demands made by them have been conceded by the viceroy as disclosed in the notes of conversations with him. It is the vagueness of the viceroy's main formula that has led to such varying ~~ixxx~~ interpretations of its import and intent. A plain heart to heart talk with Panditji should enable the vicerroy to relaise the congress view point and to remove are doubts as to te Governments intentions. We hope this opportunity will not be missed and that Panditji completely restored to health will be the instrument of us having in that honourable peace and national freedom which the country so greatly desires.

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September 17, 1930.

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L E A D E R.

Dr. T.V.S.Sastri has been sentenced to 6 month's rigorous imprisonment on a charge of harbouring satyagraha volunteers at his premises. The Gravemen of the charge was that the volunteers camped on a site belonging to him and that he went about visiting the picketing centres, in his car. The offence was thus merely a constructive one. Dr. Sastri it is reported has been placed in 'C' Class. The injustice of this classification is obvious. He belongs to a respectable family and has a recognised status in Trichinopoly as a medical practitioner. Yet the Magistrate has thought fit to direct that the treatment accorded to him shall be no better than that accorded to a common felon.

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October 14, 1930.

THE NEW MEN ALL IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The resolutions adopted at the emergency conference of the south African Indian congress held recently at Johennsburg to consider the Asiatic Tenure Bill have evidently caused a stir in that continent. Some of the principal newspapers there are exhibiting a friendhoriers towards the case for Indians which is indeed welcome at à terric when the sky is overcast with clouds, so far as the Indian community in the Transvaal is concerned. It is however very difficult to say how far the arguments adduced by them would appeal to the electorate in South Africa and to its representatives in the legislature, for instance, The Star which says that the Asiatic protest is abundantly justified points out that the Government of India and the Secretary of state would find their task made enormously difficult and A complicated by the anti-Indian Legislation in South Africa and calls upon the union Government in the interests of empire solidarity to relieve those authorities from gratutous embarrassments of this kind. Each of the Dominions is entitled to pursue its own policy regarding its internal affairs and it may be said that south Africa will not feel called upon to follow a particular course simply for the purpose of rescuing the British Government from contain entanglements and difficulties. On the other hand the "Natal witness" very properly directs public attention to the grave injustice which would be perpetrated if the Bill were enacted into law and says that it disregards the spirit of the cape Town Agreement. The Case for Indians is morally and intrinsically very strong and there is a point in the suggestion made by the south African Indian Congress for a Round Table Conference as a means of ensuring such a heart to heart talk on the whole matter as will yield a result similiar to that which was actieved by the cape Town Conference. That the various local authorities in the Transvaal are actively interesting themselves in ousting Asiatics from their trade relying upon statues which Indians had been made to feel had fallen into desuetude is becoming clear every day. In Norwood, there has been another case where the supreme court of the Transvaal has laid down that municipal licensing authorities

have the power to issue trading licences to Asiatics in areas controlled by municipalities wherein occupation is prohibited by statue. The petition was a company registered with a limited liability and had been carrying on business as a general dealer in that township since 1919. The municipal council discovered that restrictions had been imposed in the title deeds on the occupation of the property under which no coloured persons other than servants were allowed to occupy the plot. It was pointed out on behalf of the Indian company that the Norwood residents had acquiesced in the breach of the statute and that the character of the locality had undergone a complete change. The supreme court however held that it would have been illegal for the licensing court to have granted renewal of the licence and that it had not been established that either the stand holders in Norwood had acquiesced in the breach of the statue or that the character of that township had been changed. It is in order to make clear such doubts as many linger in the present statute that the Asiatic Tenure Bill has been framed. As revised by the select Committeeit constitutes a very drastic measures seeking to ruin hundreds of Indian famities who hold enormous property in land. The Bill prohibits ownership of land anywhere except in locations, places a ban on Asiatic companies, holding fixed property though hitherto companies thus formed have been registered by the state makes it illegal and an offence for a person to hold fixed property on behalf of or in the interest of an Asiatic the properties so held prior to 15th May 1930 being protected, and debars Indians from holding shares or debentures in companies holding fixed property. The situation it will be thus seen is one of the extreme gravity necessitating the utmost vigilance on the part of the Government of India. Ministers in the union have already begun to protest against the announcements and statements of policy by British statesmen which might possibly have repercussions in South Africa. Those short sighted person in authority may well be reminded that there is such a think as growing world opinion which is increasingly disinclined to look with indifference on repression of imnivgrant or less advanced communities and that the evil

example thus set in south Africa encourages white colonists in other parts of the world to pursue similiar selfish and unjust methods.

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October 25, 1930. 83

L E A D E R.

Before the George Town Presidency Magistrate today, Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar was asked to show why he should not be called upon to execute a bond to keep the peace in view of his recent speeches in Madras in which the police stated he had asked the audience to support the civil disobedience movement, including the boycott of the census. The proceedings before the Magistrate appear elsewhere and it will be seen that Mr. Rajagopalachariar in accordance with his creed refused to plead. That does not in our opinion, relieve either the Government at whose instance we presume the proceedings have been irritated or the Magistrate of the responsibility of seeing that the requirements of the law are in substance and in fact complied with before they act on his refusal to plead or to execute a bond and commit him to prison again whatever might be said as to the nature of his speeches or of his proposal for the boycott of the census from the point of view of the Government, It seems to us clear that the mere delivery ~~of the spe~~ of the speeches could not by itself be sufficient evidence of either the likelihood or imminence of a breach of peace in the city of Madras or warrant any proceedings under Section 107, from the questions put to the police witnesses by the Magistrate himself it does appear that this aspect of the matter presented itself to him but we regret to say that beyond mere assertion, hearsay or guesses of the police officers concerned, there was no proof whatever before the court that the speeches were of a character that were claculated to endanger public tranquillity presently or in the immediate future. The formation for action under section107 is the existence of the circumstances or conditions that may lead to at least a proximate breach of the peace and yet beyond the fact that these speeches were made and the contention that under certain conditions and contingencies in the future there may be a disturbance of the peace, there was no evidence before the court to proceed upon. The means and methods which the Government possess of dealing with civil resisters and their leaders are many and varied and surely proceedings under Section 107 are neither fair nor legitimate in the present case.

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November 11, 1930. 84 2584

LEADER.

The Judgement of the sessions Judge of Nellore in the appeal prefered by one Mr. V.Subbaramiah, a medical practioner of Kovvur, against the order of the Deputy Magistrate of Kavali convicting him of an offence under section 117 of the Indian Penal code read with section 74- c of the Salt Act is another remainder of the fact that in political and quasi political cases the citizen very often fails to get justice at the hands of subordinate magistrates. We published yesterday a summary of the sessions Judge's order acquitting the accused. The facts of this case are easily set forth. The accused it was alleged, incited by a speech to a growd of 200 people to break the Salt law. On the evidence of a head constable and a constable who spoke to their having heard the accused's speech and reported it, the Deputy Magistrate convicted the accused, and sentenced him to undergo 6 months rigorous imprisonment although he denied having made the speech attributed to him and pleaded "not guilty". On appeal the sessions judge held that the convictions was bad in law in as much as the proceedings had not been instituted after due inquiry by proper authority namely salt officer. He also found that on facts the charged failed because "the primary evidence was suppressed and secondary evidence which is I think in admissable was admitted". One or two circumstances in regard to the conduct of the prosecution are extraordinary. The charge was laid full two and a half months after the alleged commission of h the offence. The prosecution refused to produce the original note books which contained the notes of the accused's speech although at least one of them was available. Although there were 200 people in the audience of whom the prosecution knew at least three ~~house~~ none of them was cited. "This important prosecution", says the sessions judge, "was conducted in a perfunctory manner and should not have been left to depend upon the evidence of two constables where better evidence wasx available". Is it any wonder that such magistracy and police can not in the circumstances, enjoy the confidence of the people?

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ovember 12. 1930. 85 44 2586

L E A D E R.

(Yesterdayt the chief Presi ency Magistrate passed an order prohibiting political demonstrations in Madras on the ground that organised protest against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's sentence or the Round Table conference might lead to breaches of the peace. This is an apt illustration of the extra-ordinarily queer uses to which section 144 of the criminal procedure code is being put by the magistracy at the instance of the police, and which can only be explained on the principle that the apette grows by what it feeds on and familiarity with a handy instrument of repression tends to blunt the bureaucracy's sense of propriety. Evan more far fetched and fantastic are the reasons trotted out by the sub-divisional Magistrate of cuddalore who has decreed that for the next 2 months "no body should form or participate in any kind of procession or demonstration or comene or participate in any of the political meetings or gatherings within the cuddalore Taluk".) The ban, it will be seen is as comprehensive as it is simple and the Magistrate has satisfied himself "by personal enquiry that the passing of this order is absolutely essential and emergent". His trouble seems to be a perfervid imagination, for all the fact that he has been able to adduce in support of his panicky action ~~is that he has been able to adduce in support of his panicky action~~ is that two political prisoners who were released on sunday last were received by sympathisers, garlanded and taken in procession theough the town. The Magistrate gravely informs the world that "this demonstration led to an excitement in the town", and as similiar demonstrations have in the past "actually tended to create disturbances of public tranquility ~~which~~ his jurisdiction" he is discrettly silent as to whether they actually did create disturbances, he has seen fit to veto all manifestation of political life in a whole taluk. If he had exercised a little introspection it is difficult to believe that he could have failed to see what an infinitely greater amount of excitement his precious order is likely to produce. But he objects to these demonstrations not merely because of their possible adverse effect on the public peace but because they are

done "not only to honour people who have been convicted for breaking laws but also as an expression of defiance of Government and oflawful authority of the local executive". We fail to see the logic of this argument, why should the honour done to persons who have suffered for their political convictions be regarded as defiance of the Government or its subordinates? If this interpreteation be endorsed by the Government there eould be no more conclusive act of self-condemnation on their part; And if this sort of petty persecution were to be allowed in the name of the law where will it stop? On this analogy people might be penalised for offering food and shelter to the released political prisoners. At this rate conviction for a political offence may soon develop into a state of outlaw for such people. Unless this gross abuse of extraordinary powers is put a stop to the administration is bound to come in for unenviable odium.

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December 6 1930.

L E A D E R.

It is a sad reflection on the mentality that has guided the Government of India and the Local Governments concerned in the treatment of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel that the circumstances under which a distinguished Indian has been transported 2000 miles across the country from Ambala to coimbatore, should be mystified beyond measure and the public that loves and honours him should be left to gather whatever information they could get in spite of the unmeaning and unnecessary precautions and draw their own conclusions. Certain facts however seem to be beyond dispute from all that could be gathered outside govermental auspices. Mr. Patel has been removed from Ambala because his state of health urgently demanded his transfer to a warmer climate. Mr. Patel's general condition is extremely weak and he had not only to be accompanied by a medical officer but had to break his journey thrice during the transit as he was unable to stand the strain of it. Mr. Patel it is known to his friends, was keeping indifferent health for many months prior to his imprisonment his piles and intestinal complaints having can be no doubt that the conditions under which he had to undergo his imprisonment in Ambala have worsened his state of helath seriously. He has had to be helped in his movements when getting in and getting out of the train. Mr. Patel we believe has already andergone more than 3 months out of the 6 months imprisonment imposed on him and it is difficult to see what purpose the Government seek to serve by compelling him to undergo the rest of his term which was the maximum awardable under the law. It has been stated that the doctors have not yet been able to completely diagnose his ailment and that X ray examination for which it would seem there is provision in coimbatore and not in Ambala will enable them to do so. The Government ofIndia who are fully cognisant of the facts of the situation owe it to themselves in the barest discharge of humane duties to a distinguished ex-president of the Assembly to release Mr. Patel forthwith.

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December 11, 1930.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

(The narrow interpretation placed by Local Governments on the principles laid down by the Government of India in regardxto the treatment of prisoners, in spite of the exhortation of the latter that they should be interpreted in a liberal spirit has resulted in a good deal of injustice and anomalous and unfair treatment against which the public have so far protested in vain. From the the letter addressed to the Government of Bombay by the Indian Merchant's chamber the text of which will be found published elsewhere x it will be seen that the chamber pointedly draw attention to the fact that even as the rules stand, "they are more followed in the breach than in the observance". Further the Government have without any justification ruled that class "A" is restricted only to a limited number of exceptional Cases". The result is that quite a large number of ladies and gentlemen who "by reason of their education occupation and mode of living". deserve to be placed in class 'A' have been relegated to the 'B' or 'C' class. Mr. Braliv has been placed in 'B' class though his status is quite well known. Mr. Mahadeo Desai, who was x an "A" class prisoner in Sabarmati Jail when he was first sentenced has now been relegated to 'B' class for no apparent reason. Mr. Jwanji D.Desai points out in a communication addressed to us and published elswwhere that a leading merchant of Broach and the son of a mill magnate of Ahmedabad have been pulled down in the jail from 'A' to 'B' class. The treatment accorded to 'C' class prisoners needs radical revision as we have repeatedly stressed in these columns) Different Magistrates have different ideas as to the classification and the Government have no definite principles to guide them in this matter. The abuses connected with this question of classification have assumed such a proportion that they can only be removed by a careful and searching inquiry will the Government act promptly in the matter?

89. 48 2594

December 15, 1930.

L E A D E R.

(The order passed under section 144 Crimінal Procedure Code by the chief Presidency Magistrate prohibiting picketing of sale or purchase of foreign cloth and other foreing goods within the city of Madras for the next 2 months is the latest instance of that misuse of the law for political ends which has been so common a feature of the methods adopted in combating civil disobedience movement. It will be remembered that even when the so called picketing ordinance was in force the highest courts in the land held that picketing which confined itself to peaceful persuasion could not be an offence under that ordinance. How than it can be held to be an offence now that we have reverted to "normal law" (as Mr. Bern fondly imagines) is to us a mystery but the chief presidency Magistrate seems to have no doubts whatever on this score. His order is all comprehending in its sweep. It prohibits picketing in "any manner whatesoever" and not merely "in or near to any stall shop godown or other place road or throughfare or other places frequented by the public generally". It would thus penalise not only peaceful persuasion in or near the places of business where foreign goods are sold, but anything that might be construed as picketing by over zealous policemen). Not only is "picketing" not defined but by envisaging the possibility of its being attempted in places where one would not ordinarily look for it, the order suggests that activities which have no real or organic connection whatever with picketing might also be brought with in its purview. (Thus a general exhortation to the public by a street corner speaker to buy Swadeshi only or not to buy foreign goods might ~~conceverably~~ conveniently be interpreted as a breach of this order where as such general exhortation can by no stretch of imagination be included within the meaning of the term picketing. (Again section 144 would legitimately apply only to activities which are calculated to cause obstruction annoyance or injury to any person or where there is risk of disturbance of public tranquility). In other words an element of

of violence either of fact or of intention is an essential ingredient of an offence under such an order. But picketing which is prohibited by the present order is by the nature of the case non-violent. Before the Magistrate is satisfied that such a breach or disturbance is likely, he must not have merely a police report, but definite legal evidence to justify every, reasonable man coming to the same conclusion. There have been many cases of picketing in the city in the past few months but in not one case was there shown to have been any the slightest risk of a breach of the peace; why then, should the public now be called upon to accept the assertion ~~such~~ a of the police that there has suddenly developed such a risk without any tangible evidence forthcoming in support of it? These circumstances point to the inevitable conclusion that this latest order has been promulgated not so much in the interests of public tranquility, which needs no such protection as with a view to preventing legitimate Swadeshi propaganda, simply because that propaganda is being undertaken by "The promoters, members and other sympathisers of the civil disobedience movement". (At a time when High Court after high Court has been vigorously denouncing the irregularities of law and procedure which the magistracy has permitted itself in the campaign against civil disobedience one can only wonder that the authorities should persist in their methods)

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December 29, 1930.

L E A D E R.

The statement that Dr. Purushothamadas Patel has made to our Coimbatore Correspondent regarding Mr. V.J.Patel's health is grave and disquieting. Dr. Patel has been in close touch with the medical officers of the Ambala jail so that when he says that they did not take the rosy view of the ex-president's health, which the Government of India's communique conveyed to the public his statement must be presumed to be one made with ample warrant. As a result of careful examination, Dr. Patel thinks "that there is great room for anxiety and serious emergencies may arise at any movement and require major operative measures". The fact that the Superintendent of the Jail is reported to have agreed with Dr. Patel's opinion is conclusive as to the state of the patients health. In the light of the latest medical report it would be absurd for the Government of India to maintain that the incarceration of Mr. Patel in jail is not a detrimental factor "in the present state of his health so anyone who reads Dr. Patel's report and the complications that have set in of which he gives details, it must be obvious that Mr. Patel's condition has become gravely worse since he was examined by Col-Fraser. "I must assert". Dr. Patel observes "that the Government of India will be taking a serious responsibility if the present circumstances are allowed to continue and serious emergencies to arise". In the light of these facts and of so grave a warning by a competent medical authority it is the duty of the Local Government immediately to place themselve in telegraphic communication with the Government of India so that the later materialise the gravity of Mr. Patel's condition and forthwith order his release.

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December 30 1930.

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THE CONGRESS SESSION IN MADRAS.

The actual business of the congress began yesterday and the first resolution which was moved from the chair was touching the death of two of the most honoured and beloved English friends of India namely. Mr. W.S.Caine and Lord Stanley of Alderby. The Resolution of the congress recording the deep sense of the loss sustained by India in the death of these two large hearted and benevolent Englishmen, may afford some comfort to their relations and friends, and will also show to them how grateful the people of India are to these who have sympathised with and helped them in their efforts to improve their condition and their status, as subjects of His Majesty.

The next Resolution of the congress was in regard to the unfulfilled promises made to the Indian people in the matter of their admission into the public service of the country. The subject is an old one with us and it has been the cause of increasing disappointment to the people of this country. It is ~~xxxxx~~many years since Lord Lytton wrote that we had been "cheated" that the promises made to the ear had been broken to the hope and although the statutory civil service was created and the public Service Commission started an elaborate enquiry into the question of the claims of the Indian people for a due share of the higher appointments in the public service of their country. We have not made any appreciable progress. The recommendations of the commission which were themselves illiberal were given effect to in a much more illiberal fashion: So long as the present state continues the congress will be bound to raise its voice against the process of "cheating" to which we have been subjected.

Almost the same may be said of the question of Land Revenue settlement which in spite of the famous resolution of Lord Curzon's Government will continue to be agitated because the life and existence of the people are intimately connected with that problem the satisfactory solution of which is increasingly being pressed upon the attention of the Government by every successive famine. The subject was dealt with by some of the ablest speakers who brought a good deal of knowledge and experience to bear upon it. The treatment of Indians in the British colonies was another subject

December 30 1930.

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S. No. 23. 98 2612

January 6 1931.

Mr. Vithalbhai Patel's Release.

The news that the Goverment of India have issued directions to te Madras Government for the release of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel will be received with feelings of relief and satisfaction all over the country. It is a step long overdue. It is however satisfactory to know that unlike the Punjab Government and its officials, the Madras Government and its jail authorities spared no pains in attending to Mr. Patel's medical and general requirements and in sending prompt and accurate reports of his state of health and his ailments. It is now more that 2 months since the condition of Mr. Patel's health had reached a stage when his immediate release with a view to his proper and adequate treatment and speedy recovery became absolutely necessary in the same way as that of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Malaviya. The delay the tribulations and sufferings he has had to leave by being transferred across the continent of India from Ambala to coimbatore might all have been avoided if the Punjab Government had attended to the matter, involving the life and health of a distinguished son of India, with same imagination and sympathy. It is however Mr. Patel's present state of health that fills the mind of the Indian public with anxiety and it is their doubt prayer that he be speedily restored to his old health and vigour to gave his motherland.

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The Hindu

January 21, 1931.

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LEADER.

The Government of Madras in two notifications which we republish elsewhere have declared both the city boycott commitee and the Tamil Nad Council of Action unlawful associations underthe criminal law Amendment Act on the familiar ground that they have for their object interference with the maintenance of lawand order and that they constitute a danger to the public peace. So far as the public are aware neither their avowed objects nor their wellknown activities have tended to interfere with law and order constitute a danger to the public peace. But the Governments mere declaration of opinion is the final word in the matter and there are no means of challenging either the legality or the truth or sufficiency of the material on which they have acted. The resort to these absolutely unjustifiable repressive steps on the part of the Madras Government at a time when appeals have been made by the viceroy in Delhi and by the Premier in London to the congressmen to co-operate with the Government in furtherance of the policy announced on Monday is a fact whcih the Madras Public will not fail to note in judging of the real temper of the authorities in India towards their national aspirations and activities. The working committee of the Congress is meeting today in Allahabad to consider and advise the country on Mr. Macdonald's declaration of Policy. Is the Madras Government assisting the policy of Lord Irwin and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald by their embittering action proscribing organisations that haveso far been engaged in wholly legitimate activities as unlawful bodies.

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January 26, 1931.

THE RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS.

(The statement issued by Lord Irwin last night announcing the Government of India's decision regarding the unconditional release of congress leaders records a significant and welcome change in the administratice methods of the Government in India) We sincerely hope that this first step will be implemented in full by them with equal promptness and in the true spirit by which the process of transference of power from British to Indian hands, which is the principle underlying the premiers declaration should be inspired. In urging the immediate need for the release of congress leaders and congressmen, for a general annesty and for a withdrawal of all repressive measures with a view to the establishment, of a peaceful and dispassionate atmosphere for a frank and fill discussion of the premier's statement, we pointed out that in the circumstances which subsist in India to day when over 50,000 persons have sought voluntary imprisonment and suffering in the cause of the Country, the initiative for creating the requisite conditions should come from the Government we are glad that this has been recognised by the Government of India in the step now taken and that they have directed the release forthwith of congress leaders without waiting or asking for any specific assurances. "May Government will impose no conditions on this releases "observes Lord Irwin in his statement "because we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions his in discussions being conducted by these concerned under terms of unconditional liberty". While therefore the need for congress leaders to consider the statement of the Prime Minister in a calm and dispassionate manner has there admittedly imposed upon the Government the duty of restoring them to liberty without any condition what ever., the necessity of restoring peaceful conditions in the country generally with a view to ensure a lasting and satisfactory solution of the present imposse requires that the general amnesty and the recall of repressive laws should also be simultaneously brought about. The statement of the Prime Minister that if civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, the Government would not be backward in response, has been echoed by the Government of India. The country will welcome the spirit actuating Lord Irwins

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declaration. "I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it and I am am confident that they will recognise the important of securing for these grave issues calm and dispassionate examination" we need scarcely point out that congressmen on their part have always expressed their willingness to call off civil disobedience provided the basis and the atmosphere for an honourable settlement exist or are agreed upon. The fact that the working committee have agreed to put off the publication of the decisions they had made and to await the arrival of Dr. Sapru Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Sastri, shows we take it that they are prepared to examine the position very carefully and explore ways to re-establish peace. We are glad to find that Pandit Motilal Nehru have very rightly declined to express any opinion on the viceroy's statement untill he has had the opportunity of conferring with Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal and other colleagues and of discussing the whole position with them. We have no doubt therefore that they will give their most earnest consideration to all the developments that have taken place since the last negotiations broke down and it is our sincere hope that in view of the progress in ideas and proposals that have taken place since August last in England and in India, a satisfactory agreement will be reached.

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February 2 1931.

THE WORKING COMMITTEES RESOLUTIONS.

The trend of the discussions that have taken place in Swaraj Bhavan Allahabad, during the last few days has served very largely to clear the atmosphere and strengthen the hope that way to the resumption of peace negotiations between the Government and the congress with a view to honourable settlement may be found in Bombay in the course of the important conferences and conversations that will take place this week end. In his cable to The Daily Herald Mahatma Gandhi stated that he was "eagerly searching for avenues leading to an honourable peace that would give India the freedom that she desires and to which she is entitled". He also declared that "even for creating an atmosphere suitable for calm discussion, the release of all congress party prisoners and the withdrawal of repressive ordinances and restoration of confiscated property are absolutely essential". It is the repression which "is fouling the atmosphere hour after hour", as Mahatmaji pointed out in an interview with Reuter's representative at Allahabad that should cease and he instanced the happenings in Madras last week as one of the many others going on all over the count country. The demand for the release of all political prisoners, for the cessation of all repression and for the withdrawal of repressive laws is, if we may say so, not a congress demand but a demand made by the whole country and by all shades of opinion. In an interview given by Sir Chimanlal Setalwad in Bombay he has reinterated this demand in very clear terms. He observes:

It is essential that all political prisoners not guilty of violence who are imprisoned in thousands should be immediately released which action is sure to evoke a corresponding good feeling. But even the mere release of politicals will not meet the requirements of the situation. All prosecutions and inflictions of sentences for offences already committed should immediately cease. Further all repressive measures like dispersing processions by lathi charge should be abandoned and the wide rather strange use of the criminal Law Amendment Act also should be stopped.

We trust that no more delay will occur in the Government

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giving effect to this widely expressed wish regarding the need of the situation. The cessation or suspension of civil disobedience must come about as the result of an agreed purpose the release of not merely the leaders but of all political prisoners who have voluntarily sought imprisonment in pursuance of the movement is obviously essential and the Government may act with the same confidence in the good faith of the leaders in this respect as they have acted in respect of their own release.

In Gandhiji's interview at Bombay and in the course ofthe discussions that appear to have taken place, reference has been made to the demand for the continuance of picketing of foreign cloth shops and drink shops and for permitting the unlicensed manufacture of salt on the part of the masses. So far as the question of peaceful picketing is concerned the working committee has rigtbly put it in its proper perspective in the resolution they have passed. There is no picketing ordinance now in force and as the working committee reminds the public peaceful picketing would only amount to "the exercise of the ordinary right of the citizen so long as it remains strictly peaceful and causes no obstruction to the public". There is therefore no need to demand the permission of the Government for picketing which is lawful any more than there is need for the Government to seek an assurances from Mahatma Gandhi in respect of its continuing to remain so long as it is under his guidance, peaceful and without causing obstruction to the public. On the question of the manufacture of salt and the salt tax the Government have gone so far as to realise the oppressive nature of the burden of the salt tax on the poor people of this country and have appointed a committee of legislature to deal with the proposals of the Tariff Board. It should surely be possible for the Government to find a means by which even during the period of twice, this long felt and universally recognised hardship of the poor may be relieved, pending the final steps that may be taken to afford permanent relief to the people of this country from the burden of the salt tax.

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February 5 1931.

LEADER.

We invite attention to the representations made by the Madras piecegoods merchants' Association to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Governor of Madras suggesting the lathi charges on peaceful and non-violent picketers should be stopped forthwith. This step has been taken in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Association protesting against these indiscriminate lathi charges and pointing out that they did great harm to the piece goods trade and to the peace of the city. The letters not only emphasise this aspect of the matter but make it plain that the merchants are equally alive to the wider repressions of the methods adopted by the police in dealing with the picketers. They deplore the unwisdom of what they characterise as "the lathi regime" and the embitterng effect it produces at a time when a friendly atmosphere is all important to ensure dispassionate consideration of the momentous issues before the country". This frank statement of their views should enable the Government to see how thoroughly the public as a whole including the merchants whose shops are subjected to picketing repudiate police excesses in dealing with picketers. It is to be hoped that the Government will not continue to ignore such emphatic expressions of public opinion.

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March 6 1931.

GANDHI-IRWIN AGREEMENT.

The text of the peace terms, the Congress working committe's resolution thereon and Gandhiji's address to journalists explaining the terms will be found elsewhere.

Peace has its victories no less than war and it is upon those victories that the country must now concentrate attention with regard to the constitutional problem the agreement states that scope of the future discussion includes further consideration of the scheme discussed at the Round Table conference. It reiterates the declaration already made by His Majesty's Government that federation Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India are the triple corner stones of the scheme. We have had occasion to show that the proposals formulated and the discussions that took place at the conference have interpreted this declaration very imperfectly. Gandhiji takes the same view as will be seen from his remark in the course of his appeal to Englishmen to co-operate whole heartedly, "I must confess that what seems to have been yielded by them at the conference in London is not even half enough as the approach to the goal that Indian has in view". That he has nevertheless accepted the declaration shows that he believes - and we venture to say rightly - that implemented in the right spirit it should yield the substance of independence which alone will satisfy the country everything would therefore depend on the spirit in which both sides approach the problem. If England realises what she has to gain by interpreting the agreement not in a narrow or illiberal spirit but with a hearty will to peace and a steady resolve to suceed in the supreme task of convincing India that she can remain an equal partner in the Empire with honour and credit, she will find that India will not be backward in making a generous response. The warlings of the diehards not withstanding every responsible section of English opinion must realise and be impressed by the way in which Gandhiji and the congress have conducted the negotiations the generosity that has distressed the unhappy past the implicit acceptance of Britain's good faith and the quiet confidence as to what the future must bring that springs from an unassailable

conviction of the justice of their cause. Let us hope that Britain on her part will not fail to rise to the height of that chivalry.

Meanwhile Gandhiji has made it clear that it is more than ever necessary to push on with the constructive work which alone can make Swaraj a reality. Formost among the matters that claim attention is one need hardly point out, the urgency and importance of an abiding communal settlement. The decision of the congress to co-operate in the further work of the Round Table Conference should itself go far towards removing such obstacles to a settlement as genuinely exist. The question of safeguards for minorities is expressly reserved for consideration at the conference to be held in India and the congress has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of all reasonable measures that might council the minorities that they would in no way be penalised or denied their full political civic and religious rights in a self-governing India. It is unfortunate that in view of this frank and sympathetic attitude of the premier political orga-nisation in the country, a section of the Muslims should persist still in affecting to believe that majority must be actuated by sinister intentions towards them. The resolution which has bee n placed by Mr. Hasrat Mohani beore the executive of the All-India Mosle Conference and which is to be considered by the conference towards t the end of the month, is wholly wrong headed and mischievous; we think it will not be questioned that no section of Muslim will seriously suggest that the country should remain unfree because of fanyful fears that the community would not get its due under Swaraj. We hope this will be made perfectly clear at the conference. The Congress invites the coordinal co-operation ofthe Muslims the Princes and of in fact every party and interest in India in the task of erecting the edifice of self Government on the broad base of unity and popular goodwill. No one who loves the Country and holds her service more important than the gratification of personal or sectorial ambitions can fail to respond to that call in the spirit in which it has been made.

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March 18, 1931.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS.

If the object of the white population in South Africa is as one of the Ministers is reported to have stated, to drive out Asiatics altogether, it is better for all concerned that that objection is avowed frankly in an Act of Parliament than that the policy of ~~xxx~~ pin-pricks and persecution now being followed should be continued. The indignation roused by the introduction of the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill has just subsided by the announcement that it has been postponed sine-die. But the Indian community is apparently not to be left in peace for an Immigration Bill has been introduced, the Object of which is practically to make such certificates of registration entitling a certain class of Indians to enter or reside in the Transvaal so many scraps of paper. According to the law such a certificate is a complete answer to a charge of being a prohibited immigrant ~~and thus disentitled to reside~~ in the Transvaal. No wonder that in the circumstances Indian opinion says that if the Bill is enacted it will constitute an instrument for the terrorising of the whole of the Transvaal Indian population our contemporary proceeds to say that "in plain language it is obviously a devise to provide a satisfactory alternative to the voluntary repatriation scheme form which so much was expected by the Government under Gentlemen's agreement., but which in this respect is not worked out according to plan". Mr. C.F.Andrews who is in South Africa at present discusses this question in an article which is reproduced elsewhere. It is to be hoped that pending the revision of the capke Town Agreement at the end of the year this new Bill also would be postponed.

The question has a long history behind it, but it may be stated that in the absence of these antiquated Indians who have been as a result of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement allowed to remain in the Transvaal but who have had no right whatever to do so, would be considered to be prohibited immigrants and thus disentitled to reside in the Transvaal.

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March 21, 1931.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

A striking development in the policy pursued by the Indian community in kenya is that relating to their decision to participate in the administration of the municipalities in that colony. Owing to the declaration in favour of communal franchise made in the white paper of 1923, the unsatisfactory nature of the recommendation made by the Feetham report and the desire to maintain the solidarity of the community, Indians have failed to participate in municipal elections so far. A correspondent writing to The Leader from Members reports that after, the publication of the white paper in June 1930, feeling in the Indian community has changed in favour of participation. Although no decision couldbe arrived at at the last congress owing to the fact that it broke up. It is said that General opinion now favours entry ~~into~~ into the councils. The general secretary of the Congress early this month is reported to have addressed the Government on the question and the latter have conveyed the assurance that acceptance of mominations on municipal councils would not in any way affect their claim for a common franchise. Elections to the Legislature Council have also been asked to be postponed, pending the decisions of the joint parliamentary committee. Sir Joseph Byrne, the new Governor, appears to be inclined to take an impartial view of the affairs of the colony. In reply to an address on his arrival he said. "I come to my new work with a completely open mind and with the desire to examine every side of the many difficult questions which without doubt will soon be thrust upon me". The success of a Governor of Kenya so far as the Indian community is concerned will be measured by the firmness he displays in resisting the demands of white settlers for more and more power and in enabling the Indian community to feel that its members are being treated by the Government on a footing of perfect equality with European settlers.

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April 1 1931..

THE CONGRESS.

(The forty fifth session of the Indian National Congress which has just come to a close marks a historic turning point i n the life of the great national organisation and its influence on the political life of the country. The ratification of the Delhi pact is not merely a great personal triumph for Gandhiji it is a vindication of the strong sense of discipline which has made the congress the power that it is and of that steady grasp of the realities of the situation which its traducers have often ~~facibly~~ facilely accused it of lacking.) The resolution has reaffirmed the position that India shall accept nothing less than the substance of independence. It is from this point of view that the congress will further examine the proposes formulated at the Round Table conference and it has indicated broadly the tests it will apply to see whether these proposals meet the national Demand. Since these proposals are in the main provisional and since the congress has also authorised the acceptance of any such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of India a definite agreement should not be beyond ~~the order~~ the reach of the combined wisdom of Indian and English statesmen provided the will is there. By accepting the pact and by agreeing to invest any delegation that it may decide to send to England with plenipotentiary powers, the congress has shown that it means business. The next step ~~his~~ lies with the Government The best way of showing that they are equally in earnest is to implement the pact in full so that the negotiations may be resumed without delay and not to go on giving the impression that their Indian policy is very much subject to the fluctuations of British party politics.

The congress has at the same time recognised that there is at least one paramount issue to be settled in India and without the intervention of the Government or any other third party, in order that it may be armed with ~~inexistable~~ irresistable power to enforce the will of the people. No formal resolution was passed about the Hindu Moslem questions but Gandhiji in his speech on the main

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resolution made clear his own view that it would not be worthwhile to go to London without having solved this all-important problem first. And the manifesto issued by the leaders assembled at Karachi shows that the congress is thoroughly impressed with the gravity of the situation and the need for urgent measures. It was stated a day or two ago that immediately after the congress Gandhiji and one or two others wuld discuss the whole question with leading Moslems. If both sides remember that unity means obtaining for the country as a whole of the reality of self-government while continued disagreement will, in all probability, indifinitely postpone the achievement of that goal and besides make life untolerable for the bulk of both the communities whose normal impulse is to live in amity with each other it should not be difficult to quell the intransigeants on either side. When there is no general desire in either community to manovere for position or to play into the hands of interested outsiders, the rabid communalists will find their occupation gone.

Other resolutions passed demanding justice for Indians in South and East Africa untrammelled opportunity for Burmans to discuss and settle their own political future and self government for the North West Frontier province. The discussion on the first ~~on the first~~ of these should open the eyes of the Governments concerned to the intensity of feeling in this country against the shabby treatment meted out to its nationals abroad, a feeling which they would be wise not to provoke to action as they assuredly will if they persist in their policy of pin-pricks and evasion for a self-governing India will assuredly not tolerate these insults. The Round Table conference proposal to separate Burma from India was rushed through without giving any opportunity for a clear expression of the wishes of the vast majority of Burmans themselves as we pointed out at the time. The congress while drawing pointed attention to this fact has taken a position which is perfectly correct from a constitutional point of view and which should make Burmans realise the untruth of the sedulous propaganda that India is loath to relinquish the fleshpots of Burma and while protesting against British Imperialism herself

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aspires for domination over a sister nation.

The last resolution to be discussed by the congress was certainly not the least in importance as was shown by keen controversy it excited. It aimed at indicating what in view of the congress are the fundamental rights of the people which should be respected and recognised by any constitution drawn up for a self-governing India it is also outlined broadly the social and economic policy which the congress favours as conducive to the happiness of the people at large.

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April 25 1931.

THE PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN MALAYA.

The situation in Malaya so far as Indian emigrants are concerned is one at present extra ordinary helplessness and we are not in a position to say whether the Government of India are doing all that they can to alleviate the widespread discuss prevalent among the Indian community in that colony. Owing tothe slump in the trade, the employers are repatiating hundreds of Indian workman and both they and these who remain behind are undergoing intense suffering. At the recent all Malaya Indian conference held in Easter at Taluk Anson Sppeches were made by Dr. J.J.Samuel, the chairman of the Receiption Committee and Dr. M.K.Menon, the president, depicting the plight of Indians, either labourers or other settlers and emphasising the need not only for organisation but for some means of affording immediate help to the needy. Neither of these leaders was inclined to under estimate the necessity for social work and the raising of the standards of living and the conference appropriately adopted resolutions calculated to improve their sanitary and other conditions of living and the spread of literacy among the community. The President pointed out that Indians in Malaya had gone there "not to exploit the weak but to colonise and evelop a land united with their own country by almost inseparable points culture, tradition and association". But as a matter of fact, Indians were being bled and exploited to an inordinate degree and beingthemselves, "we shall be crumbled to dust before long and wiped out of existence ". The remedies demanded followed closely the lines indicated in the opening addresses. It is asked that Indian representation should be improved and enlarged on the Legislative Federal and State councils, the Indian Immigration committee sanitary Boards, and other bodies special precaution being taken that Indian labourers are adequately represented. The subject ofeducation is one in regard to which special attention must be paid. Facilities for imparting instructions to Indian children are greatly lacking and the conference asked that the responsible authorities should establish and maintain vernacular schools. It would appear that the Government are more negligent in this matter than private employers of labour, a

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point which does not redound to the credit of the authorities. Resolutions were adopted; for enforcing a minimum wage, for fixing a sex ratio, for the abolition of toddy shops, and the introduction of workmen's compensation Act. At present the Malayan Civil Service is a preserve for certain sections of His Majesty's subjects than otherwise and the conference rightly asked that the service should be thrown open to all non European British subjects. Deportation without trial is a familiar device of the bureaucracy in that colony just as in India and the conference viewing with grave concern the existence on the statute Book of the states, and colonies of the provision for this unjust procedure demanded the repeal of such obnoxious laws. The Immigration committee is an anomalous institution on which there is only one Indian & that Indian finds himself in a place in which he is distrusted. It is dominated by the planters and it is obvious that it should be reorganised and reformed if Indian interests should receive fair treatment. Rao Sahib Kunhi raman Nair who is now the Agent to the Government of Inda in Malaya and who was present at the conference will. We are sure represent to the Government of India the many disabilities from which Indians there suffer and suggest proper remedies for the redress of the manifold grievances.

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May 18, 1931.

POLITICAL SITUATION.

In a despatch to the spectator from Karachi, Mr. C.P. Garnett, a keen student of Indian affairs makes a survey of the political situation since the last congress and points out that Gandhiji is faced with 3 difficult tasks- to settle the communal question, to come to an agreement with the princes and to arrive at an understanding with Britain as to the future relations between the two countries. In this connection he utters a warning which it is to be hoped will be heeded in Britain, the rancous shouts of the die hands notwithstanding,"we shall be a very foolish country", he writes "If we make the last task the hardest for if there is one thing clear in the present struggle it is the essential moderation of Gandhi and that he has at the present moment the whole hearted support of every Indian who wishes to do constructive work for his country". Those who still pretend that the congress is an intrainsigeant organisation which may be ignored are merely pursuing an ostrich policy: for as Mr. Garrett pertinently reminds them, if Britain does not deal with the congress there is none else with whom she can deal. "The congress is the only political party with even the semblance of a real organisation, the rest are merely collections of individual politicians each of whom has to settle with his constituents as best he can.". And Mr. Garnett mere discerning than most of his countrymen welcomes the attempt of the congress to frame a definite political programme. He thinks Gandhiji's aim is to make the congress a great left wing party in Indian politics on the lines of the British Labour party and welcomes the orientation because such a party will be against caste restrictions landlordism and the sweating of the town worker" and because he finds in it a gurantee that "the various sinister influences which will certainly try to capture any new responsible Government will have to start to build up organisations in the country against a party which has several years' start in popularity and experience."

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May 27, 1931.

INDIANS IN South Africa.

The time has arrived when the issues before the Indian community in South Africa have to be faced boldly without any attempt at glossing over inconvenient but nevertheless, important aspects of the problems. The Union Government it is obvious from recent events, want to squeeze out as many Indians as possible and the comparative failure of the scheme, of assisted emigration has had the effect of stiffening their attitude. The desire to revise the cape Town Agreement is due to the feeling that other and stronger measures must be taken to quicken the pace of Indian emigration from South Africa. On the other hand, the experience of repatriated Indians in India has been very unhappy, for they have discovered that India is not able to provide them with suitable employment and so assimilate them; They are in a very sad plight with no means of livelihood in India and with no money to return to South Africa. The fact that very few Indians are now taking advantage of the scheme of assisted emigration is undoubtedly due to the accounts of sufferings of repatriated Indians which have reached south Africa. What then is the remedy? As we have already pointed out there is no alternative other than that ~~the union that~~ the union Govennment should treat Indians as part of the permanent population and extend to them the elementary rights of citizenship which are now demied to them. The Times of India takes a very same view of the question when it says:

"The crux of the Matter now is that the Indian remaining in the union have discovered that "repatriation" worsens rather than improves their lot and that the union Government demand a revision of the Agreement ~~excuse~~ because they desire to utilise such revision to increase the pressure on Indians to leave their midst. What the Government of India have to stand for is that, as the Indians from the outset went to South Africa in response to urgent invitation backed by honeyed promises, South Africa shall now act in the true spirit of both invitations and promises.

This is undoubtedly the proper view to take of the question and we have no doubt that the pressure of public opinion should be brought to bear on the Government of India to adopt it..

116 19 2648

June 11, 1931.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION.

(The decision of the working committee of the congress regarding the participation in the Round Table conference will be very generally welcomed in the country. It should remove the uneasiness felt by those who had feared that the many difficulties encountered in the carrying out of the truce terms might degenerate into an impasse preventing the congress from participating in the further stages of the conference. Though some of these difficulties have since been removed by strenuous attempts on both sides. There are others that are still to be, overcome and the working committee had in mind presumably the desirability of eliminating these also when it laid down that Gandhiji should attend the conference "other conditions being favourable,". But it recognises that it is even more essential that no room should be given for the congress attitude being misunderstood. That is the reason why Gandhiji has throughout insisted that congressmen should scrupulously adhere to the truce terms irrespective of what the authorities on their part might or might not do. This again is the reason why the working committee has now decided that even if the attempts that are being made to secure an honourable and satisfactory solution of the communal question should fail, Gandhiji should still attend the conference as the congress representative.) It is well known that Gandhiji personally was averse to attending the conference untill the communal question was settled, for the simple reason that it would be a humiliation to confess to the oustide world our inability to settle our own domestic differences. unfortunately the more extreme sections of Muslim communalists have refused to acept this perfectly natural explanation of the congress attitude and attributed it to its unwillingness to consider the Muslim demands seriously. Leaders like Maulana Shaukat Ali have repeatedly and no doubt with perfect sincerity blamed the congress for refusing to attend the conference and they have always declared that while they would bate no job of their demands in the matter of safeguards for the minorities they would fight for them at the conference itself and not stay away from it lest their case should go by default. Hoping for so much from

the conference themselves they suspected that the congress was unwilling to take up the minorities question before the conference because it was afraid that the decision would then go out of its our hands. In this frame of mind it was perhaps not supprising that they should misunderstand Gandhiji's perfectly straightforward proposal that the Muslim should present a united demand in order to enable the congress to get it accepted by the Hindus. Thanks to the intervention of ~~HxixxHixgk~~ His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal and other mediators, the communalists, have since been prevailed upon to make an effort to secure the support of their nationalist co-religionsits for a united demand. And the official communique published elsewhere indicates that the prospect of an agreement is more hopeful than we had been led to expect. Whatever the issue may be it is clear that a section of the community has built its hopes of a communal settlement on the London conference and the working committee of the congress has come ~~to the working committee of the congress has come~~ to the conclusion that participation in the conference would ~~amon~~ among other things section and we are glad that Gandhiji has after mature consideration accepted this view as reflected in the working committee's resolution.

~~Wxx~~(The working committee resolution states that Gandhiji will attend the conference if required "for presentation of the congress position". To our mind there is no necessity to make this rather tenuous distinction between presenting, pressing and persuading the British to accept the congress demands. Every section of opinion that is represented on the conference expects of its spokesmen nothing more than that they should present its case). The conference as Mr. Baldwin has recently claimed, is not a constituent assembly: it is a means of enabling His Majesty's Government to decide what kind of constitutional advance would command the maximum of popular support and in discharging their constitutional responsibility for framing measures for the acceptance of parliament they would be guided by this knowledge. But though the final word rests in a technical sense, with the Government it must be apparent that if the conference should produce an

118 21 2652

agreed scheme the Government would find no alternative but to accept it and parliament would be faced with a serious responsibility if it chose to reject it. In stating the congress case, therefore Gandhiji who has repeatedly expressed his anxiety for an honourable settlement, may be expected without making any concessions on vital matters of principle to agree to such adjustments as would enable him to secure general support for his demands. This is as it should be and it will be remembered that the Karachi congress wisely refrained from imposing any conditions and stipulations on Mahatmaji when it appointed him sole representative. Any attempt to restrict the scope of that mandate or to fetter his discretion would be not only contrary to the spirit of the congress resolution, but it would be fastened upon by the reactionaries whose hope that a communal impassee might prevent congress participation in the conference has now been frustrated. (Now that participation has been definitely decided upon, the congress should ~~trun~~ turn its attention to the outstainding problems that will come up for decision at the conference and make its own contribution to their solution)

119 22 2654

June 29, 1931.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

Lord willingdon's first utterances on the political situation in India is marked by optimism goodwill and evident sincerity to facilitate by all means in his power the attainment by India of full responsible Government.

The Viceroy's references to the political situation are concerned in a lofty spirit and give promise of a happy co-operation if all the conditions mentioned by him are fulfilled by all the parties concerned. There have been complaints by congress leaders that the Gandhi Irwin pact is not being fulfilled by certain Local Governments in the spirit in which it was conceived and Gandhiji has had to refer to some of them. It is worthy of note in this connection that Lord willingdon fully realises that it is absolutely necessary that this pact should be carried out both in letter and in spirit if a proper atmosphere is xxxx to be created for the carrying on of the further work of the Round Table Conference in London. It is an earnest appeal that he has made to officials and non-officials in India and to his fellow countrymen in England to realise the complexity of the situation and not add to the difficulties already obstructing the path of the peace makers. The viceroy as Lord Irwin did a few weeks ago, expressed his full belief that Mahatma Gandhi was quite sincere in his desire to carryout the term of the pact on his side and as for himself (Lord willingdon) he said that he would endeavour and 'with absolute sincerity to see that its terms are carried out" This should inspire the public with the hope that in Gujarat, where there is still trouble, and elsewhere not excluding our own province a liberal policy will be persued by the Government so that no trace of butterness among these who suffered during the recent satyagrah is struggle is left. But this is not enough. These is agrasiam trouble in the united provinces, and as Lord Willingdon has himself stated in his speech the economic position of these dependent upon the land is very accute indeed. At a time like this it is the duty of all Local Governments to see that no policy is pursuded which would aggravate their distress or increase the acuteness of

their suffering. Relief to agriculturists in the united provinces the postponement of resettlements in Madras and elsewhere and other measures may not come with in the Gandhi-Irwin pact but it is absolutely necessary that if the objective aimed at by the Viceroy that is the creation of a proper atmosphere for the Round Table conference is to be realised, the authorities should do nothing which would in any way add to existing difficulties.

Lord willingdon's speech will be welcomed through out the country in that far from striking any jaring note or raising controversial issues, it lays particular emphasis on the need for all parties not merely to observe the terms of the truce but to prepare the way for lasting peace.

Criticising the statement sometimes made that the present agreement was merely a truce giving time for the preparation for further agitation in the future Lord Willingdon Said:-

I stand for peace not for a truce and I appeal to all who have at heart the best interest of the country to do the same. For I am convinced of this that it is only through peace that we can secure the economic and political future of India and surely the purpose of this settlement is to get rid of strife and agitation and to secure co-operation and goodwill in order to create an atmosphere, particularly at this time which will be helpful in every way for the purpose of working out the future constitutional advance.

And so far as the goal is concerned it is encouraging to observe that Lord Willingdon looks forward to a time when "my life may more closely approximate to the four happy years I spent in Canada as a constitutional governor general and in order that I may shortly be relieved of my administrative duties".

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July 13, 1931,   121   24

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THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE.

An important session of the congress working committee has concluded at Bombay and it will be seen from the general secretaries statement on the proceedings therefoore that the working committee considered, not merely the problems arising out of the Gandhi-Irwin pact and congress workers complaints against the local governments regarding breaches there of by subordinate officials but also other questions of vital important to the country. So far as the charges of violation of the terms of the pact by officials are concerned, the latest news from simla shows that optimism which characterised the committee's decision on this subject was fully justified. The Government of India as well as the Local Governments are now apprised of the difficulties of congressmen and they seem to have promised to set matters right in all cases in which Mahatma Gandhi has been able to prove that the local officials had contravened the provisions of the pact. The committee decided that the items on the congress programme for constructive action should far from being neglected be attended to with unabated zeal. This we take it is the meaning of the res re-solution on anti-untouchability and on that difficult subject communal harmony. The working committee's resolution on the latter shows how anxious the committee has been no matter the cost, to earn the confidence of the minorities Muslim leaders of the All-India Muslim conference school have refused to accept joint electorates because under that system they feared that certain of their cherishedrights stood to suffer. The Bombay formula contains clauses calculated to safeguard these rights and allay the apprehensions of these leaders although in doing so, congressmen have been obliged to go against their own convictions for instance their decision on the question of communal representation on the cabinet and on residuary powers in the proposed federal constitution will cause surprise and provoke strong criticisms.

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July 20, 1931.

MUSLIMS CONFERENCE.

The proposals which the conference of Muslims, representative of all shades of Muslim opinion in Madras has put forward constitute an approach to the solution of the communal problem somewhat different from that adopted by the working committee. In fact the Madras Conference appears to have taken up the discussion on the subject at the point at which they were left at Bhopal. The basis underlying the Madras Scheme is that the Muslims desire separate electorates not because they are in any way wanting in their devotion to nationalistic ideals but because they apprehend that they might under a scheme of joint electorate for which they ~~might under a scheme of joint electorates for which they~~ had not prepared themselves, suffer a setback in their political influence. They therefore suggest that separate electorates might be continued for 10 years more at the end of which joint electorates will automatically be accepted as the electoral system under the constitution. The Madras Muslims plan shows that Muslims do not wish to continue the ~~xxixi~~ principle of communalism longer than in their opinion, is absolutely necessary; it is certainly their aim not to perpetuate it. A reference to Muslim representation on the cabinets under the Madras plan is also called for. The Madras Muslims seem to recognise their it may not be possible nor right to constitute cabinets on the communal principle except by arrangement with political parties in the legislatures. The congress working committee has already expressed their readiness to consider alternatives to their scheme and we have no doubt that committee will give their earnest consideration to the Madras Muslims' suggestions.

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August 7 1931.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The congress working Committee's resolution condemning political violence such as resulted in the garlick murder has been adopted by the All-India congress committee by an overwhelming majority, what is equally significant is that amendments which suggested that there may have been sufficient provocation on the part of the authorities to explain though not to justify such violence, were summarily turned down because as Pandit Jawaharlal explained, the congress having accepted the creed of non-violence was not concerned to apportion the blame but was bound to do its utmost to keep the public within the bounds of non-violence irrespective of whether there was any provocation or not. The resolution has in other words reaffirmed the conviction tha t non-violence is a creed and not a mere political expedient with the congress and those of its way of thinking Much of the comment in the Anglo-Indian Press and in reactionary circles in England on such deplorable incidents as the garlick murder has been vitiated by a patent obliviousness to this central fact. A persistent attempt has been made in these quarters to saddle the congress with the blame for such occurences on a theory of constructive responsibility which has only to be stated in terms for its absurdity to be manifest. An amendment moved at the A.I.C.C. meeting sought to repudiate these malignant aspersions but the committee prefered to treat them with the contempt they deserved. And to these who honestly if misguidedly, hold that not all force is wrong the resolution has given a sufficient reply in pointing out that political murders must necessarily retard the progress of the country. The congress has thus made its attitude towards the cult of violence perfectly plain and it will certainly do all in its power to check its pernicious influence. But it should be equally obvious that the efforts of the congress in this direction can be ably supported by the Government following a bold constructive policy in regard to political advance which alone can lay the axe at the abiding discontent which is the root of political violence Both Gandhiji and the congress have categorically expressed their readiness to co-operate in making the forthcoming conference a

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success. It is for Britain to grasp the proferred right hand in the same spirit.

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August 14, 1931. 125

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THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION.

(News of the decision of the working committee that the Congress shall not participate in the Round Table conference will be received with profound regret throughout the country) Though the air was think with intimates of an impending crisis it had been hoped that an impassee might be averted at the last moment by an exhibition of that tact and that active will to peace which had animated both the principal parties to the Gandhi-Irwin agreement and which had succeeded in solving many of the knotty problems presented by the truce. The disappointment is all the more acute and the fact divulged by the working committee's resolution that the differences are serious is bound to generate considerable ~~xxxx~~ uneasiness in the public mind. Full particulars to the causes that led to the final breakdown are not yet available. But one or two salient facts stand out in this connection. Gandhiji has always attached the highest important to the scrupulous fulfilment by both sides of the terms of the truce. And Lord Irwin himself testified to the fact that the Gandhiji was doing his ~~fuel~~ level bestto make the country abide by the ~~xxxx~~ truce both in the letter and the spirit. On the other hand Gandhiji while freely acknolwdging the earnestness with which both Lord Irwin and Lord willingdon applied themselves to the task of ~~fxi~~fulfilling the Government's part of the agreement has repeatedly complained of the obstructive and unhelpful attitude of subordinate officials and the apathy of the efforts made by himself and his liutenants to interest the higher authorities often resulted in belated attempt by the later to enforce the truce ~~times~~ terms only showed that the reactionary elements in the services were only too ready to take advantage of the apathy of the higher authorities and mar the cordial relations that hadbeen brought about by the Agreement. In some provinces at least they seem to have succeeded so well according to the working committee's resolution that Gandhiji finding it impossible to obtain satisfaction otherwise had to ask that the questions which were in dispute between the congress and the authorities in these provinces be referred to arbitration. The Gandhi - Irwin Agreement itself did not provide any machinery for the interpretation of disputed points that might arise in the working of the truce terms.

Gandhiji therefore suggested that the agreement should be treated like any other contract & referred for an interpretation

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to a disinterested tribunal. The Government may have felt that the adoption of this suggestion would be attended by grave difficulties. But it seems to us that they might have easily explored with profit alternative methods of affording the congress a satisfactory gurantee that the truce terms would be scrupulously carried out. It is fairly clear that Bombay Governor's reply to Gandhiji representations on behalf of the Bardoli pesants which seems to have precipitated the crisis was entirely out of tune with the spirit of the truce and conceived in a hostile mood. If we are right in this supposition, the Government of India should have put their foot down firmly on such exhibitions of pigue or prestige; for it is intolerable that it should be in the power of any official however high placed to wreck an agreement under which the congress has accepted the basis of the Round Table Conference and expressed its readiness to participate in further deliberations whatever else may be in dispute one fact is beyond doubt that the presence of the congress at the conference is as important to day as it has ever been. And the repressions on the internal political situation of such abstention must be fraught with thegravest consequences. Any adjustment of difference that would avoid such perilous development must, we are sure, commend itself to the Government if they do not value prestige above good sense or attach more important to the letter than to the spirit of the agreement fortunately the decision of the working committee as authoritatively interpreted by Mahatmaji in his interview with press representatives leaver the door open for further negotiations, and Mahatmaji himself in his cable to The News Chronicle points out the Chief difficulties. in the way of a settlement and how they may be overcome we would fair hope not withstanding the cold tone of finality which characterises the British official version of the breakdown, that no effort will be spared by the Government to retreive the situatiion. Here is a supreme accasion for the exercise of all the gifts of statemenship and tact which Lord willingdon possesses.

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127. 30 2670

September 16, 1931.

GANDHIJI ON THE CONGRESS DEMAND.

8 (The position of the Congress was for the first time set forth at westminister by Mahatma Gandhi in a speech at the federal structure sub-committee yesterday which by its authoritative unequivocal and dispassionate nature, seems to have made a profound impression on all who heard it Lord Sankey, welcoming him and other need delegates had acknowledged that their presence made the conference more fully representative. That is a fact the important of which has been sought to be mimimised in some quarters. The Times for instance argued the other day that Gandhiji had not come to England as a plenipotentiary that he had failed to find a solution for the communal problem and that the only proper way to deal with him was to treat him as a delegate among delegates. Without the least wish to decry the representative authority and influence of the other delegates it may be pointed out that The Times has ignored the logic of hard facts. Gandhiji speaks not only for the most powerful political organisation in the country but also as its accredited envoy. And when it is remembered that it was the abstention of this organisation at the last conference that invested its proceedings with a tentative and indeterminate character it will be realised that the views of the congress as expounded by Gandhiji at the present conference acquire an important which has no relation whatever to the strength of the congress representation as judged by members; it would be simply impossible to treat Gandhiji as "a delegate among delegates". Those who listened to the history of the congress as traced by Gandhiji and were reminded of the long and vigorous contacts it had established with the vital points of national life should have realised the absolute necessity for winning over the congress in order that any scheme of constitutional reform which the Government might ultimately adopt should prove acceptable to the bulk of Indian public opinion. The Congress Gandhiji pointed out was not a party cancus or a sectarian organisation it included all classes and religious and it stood for social amelioration as well as political freedom; Above all, it stood not for domination but for justicea and co-operation between equals, few could have listened unmoved to his appeal.

("If I want freedom for my country I ask you to believe me, I do not want it in order that I may belong to a nation that may exploit anyother race or any single individual. If I want that freedom I should not be deserving of it if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong to the same freedom ."

Those who for their own purposes have denounced the aims of the congress from time to time as favouring a policy of domination and expropriation will find little support for their propaganda in this unambigious declaration)

Having explained his credentials for speaking in the name of the Indian masses Gandhiji went on to outline the main points of the congress demand. He said the late Government's declaration of policy fell far short of it and pointed out that the Congress mandate "contemplated a partnership between two absolute peoples". A good deal of capital has been made by anti-Indian propagandists out of the Karachi congress's reiteration of the goal of Purna swaraj. Gandhiji's interpretation of this term will therefore be read with the greater interest. He said that if the congress wanted India's right to secede acknowledged it was not with a view to giving effect to it forthwith - "to parade before the universe that they had severe all connection with the British people", to use his own words - but because it was inherent in the principle of voluntary partnership between equals which should form the basis of the British commonwealth with the burning eloquence of sincerity he said, "I aspired and still aspire to be a citizen not in the empire but in the commonwealth in partnership possibly an indissoluable partnership, but not a partnership superimposed by one nation or another". Either party would have the right to sever the partnership but neither would like to do so if it was of mutual benefit. And he sketched the glorious future that lay before both countries if only Britain tried to hold India by the other bond than "the striken Cord of Love" And who can doubt that such a combination would be the most potent force for the regeneration of the world? Well many Gandhiji declare that he would cleave to thisdream of his life.

129. 32 2674

He does not forget that two things are essential to make this dream come true - the friendly co-operation of Great Britain on the one hand, and communal harmony on the other. And his speech makes it plain that he will spare no effort to achieve both these supreme ends. He had come to xxxx London he said absolutely in a spirit of co-operation and to strive his utmost to find points of agreement." This statement deserves careful attention; his full and candid exposition of the congress and of view should be regarded not as indicating a non-possums attitude but as essential for realistic and practical approach to the whole problem. We are glad that xxx Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Reading see it in this light. They stated that controversial points had been raised by Gandhiji but they could be raised up later on and Gandhiji also declared that when the question of safeguards came up for consideration he would explain the congress attitude in detail. There should we fancy be comparatively little difficulty in making the necessary adjustments if both sides are animated by an active desire for an honourable settlement. As for the communal problem, how deeply it is engaging Gandhiji's mind may be gathered from the intensity of falling which his reference to it reveals. And the other speeches made yesterday show that some communal leaders at last are more hopeful of a settlement than before. The conference has begun auspiciously. It is for British statesmanship to see that this fund of goodwill is not furthered away on the way side.

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October 20 1931.

L E A D E R.

Mr. Subash Chandra Bose's statement of the circumstances under which he was detained at a police thana for 31 hours when he was on his way to preside over the second sitting of the Bengal jute workers'conference will be read with resentment in the country. The second sitting of the conference had been prohibited and an order under section 144 criminal procedure Code had been served on Mr. Bose himself prohibiting him from taking part in it. But the authorities not satisfied with these precautions had the road, according to Mr. Bose's account actually barricaded and Mr. Bose's car was held up even before it had entered the jurisdiction of the Jagatdal thana where the conference was held. He was offered the alternative of returning to calcutta or being detained at the Nawpare Thana within the jurisdiction of which he happened to be. Mr. Bose refused to return to calcutta or to give any undertaking. He was taken to Nawpara thana and detained there for 31 hours in all during the greater part of which he had to go without food. At the end of this period he was set free without any condition. If the facts are as thus set out We cannot conceive of the more high handed of arbitrary proceedings. Either Mr. Bose was lawfully arrested or he was not. If he was, the police should have shown him the authority on which they acted and they should not have denied him the convieniences in the matter of food and drink which the law allows to every undertrial prisoner. If he was not and the fact that he was ultimately let go unconditionally suggests that he was not the police were guilty of violating the rule of law. In any case it is necessary that the whole question should be investigated by the Government without the least delay.

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131 34 2678

October 24, 1931.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THANKS TO WIDEspread unemployment in South Africa the protagonists of the so-called assisted emigration scheme in that country, which has not been working to the satisfaction of the union government during the last 18 months have found an opportunity to push it through. About 630 Indians were repatriated last year. But this year it is computed that more than 1000 people would have left South Africa for India under the scheme. This migration is entirely due to economic depression among Indian many of whom have been sent out of the mines and estates of South Africa. The Director of Indian Emigration rather surprised at this large increase in the number of Indians emigrating to India appears to entertain the opinion that the difficulties in India are no deterent to repatriation and that Indian think that they could not be worse off in India than in South Africa. We know the difficulties which repatriated Indians have to face in India owing to their unfamiliarity with the conditions here lack of suitable employment and economic depression. It is cruel in these circumstances that instead of taking measures to relieve unemployment among Indians in South Africa, the union Government should unfairly exploit the plight of Indians to further their own cherished object of hounding them out of the country under the cape Town Agreement the Government are under a solemn obligation to do everythink in their power to uplift the Indian community and treat them as they treat the members of the white community.

The Government of India should inform their agent in South Africa that Indians who return to India find their money exhausted in a few months and are left to contend against great obstacles. It is but fair that there should be a competent authority in South Africa to apprise Indians who wish to take advantage of the scheme of repatriation of the exact conditions obtaining in this country.

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132 35 2680

December 7 1931

INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

The deputation which is proceeding to South Africa from India to attend the Round Table conference in cape Town must be deemed to be representative and influential. All most ~~Africa~~ all the members have studied the Indian question in South Africa on the spot and have participated in the previous conferences on the subject. Though we are confident that the deputation will work as a team and present the Indian point of view with cogency and strength we are far from sure, however whether success will attend their efforts. Anti-India prejudice is still very rife in that sub-continent and recent activities of these who are for hounding out the Indian community do not encourage the belief that the Government of the union which is supposed to be less prejudiced will be able to stern the prevailing current. But that is a matter for the South African Government to tackle and it is the duty of the deputation to urge with all the emphasis that they can that the whole issue must be settled once for all regard being had to the serious inconveniences and hardships caused by the the uncertainty of the position of Indians. The Telegram from New Delhi announcing the deputation says that it is not known what the agenda of the conference is. This is indeed surprising for it is hardly likely that the Government of India have been kept in the dark as regards the objects of the Round Table conference. It is surmised however that working of the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1927 ~~especi~~ especially the repatriation part of it and the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill, will be the principal topics to come up for consideration As to the former subject the scheme of assisted emigration has resulted so far as the Indians repatriated are concerned in terrible misery and suffering; for these people on landing in India have experienced difficulties of a formidable kind which have made most of them regret their decision to sail for India. The union Government deputed some months ago an emigration officer to India to study the subject on the spot. There has since been in enquiry committee appointed by the Government of India. Mr. Bhavani Dayal has also made extensive enquiries and embodied his conclusions in a book which has been published. It is believed that the South African's officials report is condemmatory of the scheme of assisted

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emigration while the other enquiries have also established beyond any possibility of doubt the fact that it is no use whatsoever bringing to India hundreds and thousands of people who are entirely out of touch with this country and for whom suitable occupations cannot be found. In this connection, the justice and morality of the policy of the union government in encouraging the replacement of Indians by Europeans in some of the provinces owing to unemployment must be carefully considered by the conference. The Government owe a duty to these resident Indians quite as much as they do to the resident Europeans to minimise the suffering caused by unemployment and any racial discrimination in favour of one is reprehensible and high handed and must be a stop to. A complaint of Indians is that the other terms of the cape Town Agreement dealing with education, uplift licensing and other questions have not been observed and if an impartial estimate is formed of the working of that Agreement, there will be a large debit to the discredit of the union Government. There is also the question of the immigration Amendment Act adopted by the union parliament a few months ago. By that Act the registration certificates held by a large body of Indians have been reduced to mere scraps of paper. If that cause becomes law", said general smuts, in condemning the Bill, "then so far as the registration certificate was concerned not a single Indian living in the country would have any security of title or secured right at all. From the beginning of the controversy the Government had started with the Indian Community the registration certificate had been looked upon as the foundation of their right and their document to title giving them the right of entering and residing in the country." General ~~statements~~ Smuts will be in south Africa we believe, at the time of the Conference and if as he told the House of Assembly in March last, the clause were passed it would be a breach of faith and of the understanding and settlement which have been arrived at from time to time with the Indian community. It would be his clear duty to give in his support to the Indian deputation in having that obnoxious measure taken off the statue book. We do not know whether the Government of India have considered it necessary to take the question of Indians

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community. It would be his clear duty to give his support to the Indian deputation in having that obnoxious measure taken off the statute Book. We do not know whether the Government of India have considered it necessary to take the question of Indians in South Africa to a higher plane so that the whole matter of their being given citizenship rights and other privileges enjoyed by the European settlers ~~xx~~ may be urged upon the union Government unless this is done and a treaty of peace and goodwill is signed between India and South Africa, the question is bound to seriously interefere with the relations between the two countries.

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December 8, 1931.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Bengal chamber of commerce was partly an attempt to defend the action of the Government in issuing the Bengal ordinance and partly a reaffirmation of Lord willingdon's personal view of what is the goal of IndoBritish co-operation. He proclaims his adherence to the sentiments he expressed in his first official speech by saying "I trust that I shall find myself in a reasonably short time much more nearly a constitutional Governor General, as I was in the Dominion of Canada a short time ago". His ruling motive will be "to leave India on till she secures complete responsibility in the administration of her affairs and becomes an equal partner with the other Dominions under the Crown". The debate in the House of Commons the other day raised grave doubts whether this continued to be the objective of Indo-British co-operation cherished by His Majesty's Government. It is something that the Viceroy has reiterated his personal convictions that there is no change in the objective. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating and if India is so near the realisation of self Government as Lord willingdon suggests she is, is it not exceedingly anamolous that he should have considered it necessary to revive the rule by ordinances which marks out the Viceroy as the Polar antithesis of that constitutional governor general into which Lord willingdon hopes to see himself transformed? Lord willingdon no doubt looks upon the Bengal ordinance as an exceedingly unpleasant necessity but he tries to justify it on the ground that only by resort to it could the way be smoothed for the speedy advent of self government:

We want peaceful conditions in this country to response its economic prosperity and to work out as rapidly as we can, a great scheme of constitutional advance. In order to attain that end, I believe it is the duty of all of us to prevent as far as we can, individuals or organisations from destroying this great purpose which we have in view.

Indians desire peace and abhor violence as strongly as anybody else. But the peace that Bengal ordinance contemplates is the peace of the grave. The Ordinance professes to protect the

citizen against terrorist tyranny, but it leaves him in infinitely great danger of falling ax presidency to official tyranny which might be far more devastating because it would be clothed in the majesty of the law. The citizen is at least as vitally interested in the maintenance of peace as the Government but the latter instead of seeking his co-operation by the well-known methods provided for in the constitution have preferred to draggon him into a campaign which while it may or may not succeed against the terrorist will most certainly result in his further emasculation. As Gandhiji has poignantly put it, "it is impossible to contemplate with equanimity the unmanning of a whole people". If as Lord willingdon affirms, one of the two chief concerns of his Government is ensuring obedience to the laws of the land,. They could not have set a worse example to the people than by the issue of an ordinance which repudiates the fundamental restraints on the arbitrary and extravagant abuse of power by the executive, on which the rule of law is based in all civilised countries. "grievous and dangerous diseases require the most drastic remedies", says Lord willingdon; but we do not feel inclined to applaud the surgeon who hands in the self-complacent report, "operation successful but patient collapsed". The ordinance is bound to have an altogether demoralising effect both on the public and on officialdom because it envisages a martial law atmosphere. It is extremely regrettable that even after Gandhiji and other leaders have condemned the ordinance with one voice and impressed upon the Government the exceedingly civil consequences which are bound to flow from it, the Government have not perceived the urgent necessity for reconsidering then attitude towards it.

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December 31, 1931.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

Lord Willingdon's speech at the European Association strikes the correct note in regard to expediting the settlementof India's future. Constitution particularly in the fine appeal he has made to all to help the Government in effecting a peaceful settlement of the Indian problem. But His Excellency has marred it by a one sided attack on the congress and the activities of some of its leaders. As His Excellency observed peace was never more necessary in India than to-day; nor is it the case that there is an fundamental difference between the Government and the people on the essential need of the situation. "All fair minded and moderate men and women who form the great majority in both India and Britain", observed His Excellency "are in full support of the proposal that Indians should be given complete responsibility over the administration of their country, subject to certain nece-~~ddxxy~~ ssary safeguards." This statement together with His Excellency's observation that nothing will impede the constitutiona l programme will be welcomed because it shows that the Government recognise that irrespective of what others do they have a duty to discharge by the country namely that of establishing full responsible government. In discharging this duty in the proper way and the true spirit, the Government may count upon the co-operation of enlightened public opinion if that is to say they do not make co-operation impossible. Nothing promises success for the Government's efforts in a greater measure than the invitation that His Excellency has made to Gandhiji to help him. "I venture to hope. His Excellency said "that even at this late hour Mr. Gandhi the acknowledged leader of the congress party who has only very recently returned from England will give us the advantage of his powerful influence to help forward a solution of the great problem that is before us namely to secure for the Indian people the responsibility of administering their own affairs". It is well known that Gandhiji on behalf or the only "active political organisation as Lord Willingdon put it has offered his co-operation time and again and it is obvious that there has been a serious mis-understanding on the part of His Excellency regarding the attitude of the congress Lord Willingdon deplores that certain "congress leaders should choose

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this moment to start this subversive campaign" - obviously referring to the position in the United provinces when all ought to be engaged in seeking to arrive at decisions regarding the safeguards for establishing responsible Government Lord willingdon also pins his faith to the statements made by the Frontier Administration and the U.P. Government justifying the ordinances,. This is surprising for as we showed at the time, these statements woefully failed to establish a case for such extraordinary measures. If as the Government suggest congressmen have been guilty of breaches of the truce it was for them to take such breaches as they occured to the notice of Gandhiji who has always expressed his readiness to investigate them and set them right vague accusations that the congress is out to overthrow the government are not calculated to create that peaceful atmosphere which Lord willingdon is anxious to bring about. In his address at the welfare of India League which we publish elsewhere, Gandhiji has explained his position. His answer to the charge that congress seeks to establish parallel organisations is that the congress seeks to do so, not in the sense of seeking to render the Government established by law impotent but as a means of self help and self upliftment. The Congress institutions are to be extra constitutional voluntary organisations meant to do social service, of the kind that exist the world over. To treat them as organisations meant to paralyse the Government is to strike at the ordinary right of association of the subject. It is time that Lord willingdon realised the true significance of the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal under an ordinance universally condemned and called a half to the aggressive campaign against popular leaders in the guise of putting down a revolutionary movement.

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File no. 24 1 139 2694

January 5 1932.

THE APOLOGIA.

The elaborate apologia issued by the Government of India attempting to justify the new regime of repression is obviously intended for the edification and benefit of those non-congress parties in the country whose moral support it apparently gmix finds it necessary to gain. But if it really thought to convince these parties of the properiety and justice of the new policy it should entertain a pretty low opinion of their intelligence The statement is so obviously unconvincing and so name in its misrepresentation of Gandhiji's attitude and demand that one can understand it only on the supposition that the bureaucracy has all along been waiting for the nearest pretext to undo what in its mind it has always regarded as the fatal blunder of Irwinism. How great its obsession with this idea is may be surmised from the palpably self-contradictory statement with which the communique opens. If the civil disobedience movement had by March 1931. " "ceased to be a cause of anxiety to the Government", it is difficult to understand "the further effort to secure the co-operation of the Congress" , to which the statement refers. But let that pass what we are concerned with here is that the ~~effort~~ effort was made and it was successful in so far as it induced the congress to attend the R.T.C.. And the presence of the Congress was apparently held to be of such important at the time that not only did the Government of India "show deliberate forbearance towards congress activities and refrain from denouncing the Delhi settlement though justification was given for such a course on many occasions". It actually allowed Gandhiji on the eve of his departure to England to reserve for the congress the right of defensive direct action to right economic grievances failing other remedies and acquiesced in the position that the question of breach of the pact would not arise in that connection. Having done this it is idle to contend that "the organised attempt to utilise the settlement as a means of preparation for a further conflict" which it is alleged became manifest within

a few days of the Delhi Settlement and "has since been continuously in evidence" is by itself sufficient justification for denouncing the settlement now. The Government of India points out that "the dangers of the war mentality "were brought to the notice of Mr. Gandhi on Several occasions from the fact that it was nevertheless anxious that Gandhiji should attend the conference, it is legitimate to conclude that it must have been at the time satisfied with Gandhiji's explanation or of assurances in regard to this "war mentality" of his followers. The question upon which the whole issue now terms is whether the Government of India should not have given a similar opportunity to Gandhiji to go into the facts regarding the further exhibitions of "war mentality" by his followers which according to the Government has necessitated the issue of ordinances"?.

The extra ordinary mental agility which the Government has displayed in finding excuses for not pursuing this perfectly proper and straightforward course is the real measure of the sincerity which it so loudly proclaims. In his reply to Gandhiji's first telegram the viceroywas unwilling to belive in view, of Gandhiji's absence abroad, that "you have personally any share in the responsibility for or that you approve of the recent activities of the Congress in the U.P and North West Frontier Provinces". Having admitted as much as would have thought he would have realised the necessity of acquainting Gandhiji with the facts as the Government saw them and the Government's point of view. He could not have expected Gandhiji to condemn his colleagues unheard on the strength of the scrappy statement of the Governments case as regards the ordinances which was contained in this reply. He might have known from previous experience that a heart to heart talk with Gandhiji would clear up the position as no amount of correspondence would do. And yet knowing all this, he told Gandhiji in advance that no discussion of the ordinances would be allowed. At this time be it noted there was no question of any threat of civil disobedience. And it is patiently incorrect to suggest as the Government of India doesthat it had been

asked "to accept conditins which would make Mr. Gandhi the arbiter of measures necessary for the maintenance of law and order", under the specific threat of a general revival of civil disobedience". The "threat" as the Government calls it came later and was the direct consequence of the Government's refusal even to hear the congress side on the ground that the congress wanted to impose its judgement on the Government. This contention as we have already shown simply not warranted by the facts.

What the congress did actually do was to act on the principle enunciated by Gandhiji in his last letter to the Vicerory "I do submit that any popular and constitutional Government would always come and sympathetically consider suggestions made by public bodies" That is a position which so far as the congress is concerned the Government are apparently not prepared to concede obsessed by the notion that the congress was exploiting the settlement "for the purpose of adding to the prestige of the congress and of securing for it and for its members a position of privilege not enjoyed by any other organisation or by members of the general public". But surely the whole question is whether the methods adopted by the congress in this behalf have been legal or illegal; for it would be an extremely novel doctrine that held that there was anything objectionable perse in any political organisation trying to entrench itself in the popular estimation. Not one of the examples given by the Government in its statement published elsewhere to illustrate this tendency of Congress to aggrandise itself points to any specific act which could be regarded either as a violation of the law or of the Delhi pact. Granting that there have been any number of such violations, the proper course, consistent with the policy the Government had adopted in the pact, would have been to confront Gandhiji with these acts of aggression / ask him whathe had to say about them. Why did it not adopt this course? Here again we are confronted with what seems to be another after thought. The Government we are told were pledged to assist and expedite the work of constitutional advance but "Mr. Gandhi had given no clear indication of whether he or the

congress whom he represented, were willing to co-operate in the fulfilment of the scheme of His Majesty's Government" Besides, the Congress working Committee had voted the Prime Minister's declaration to be wholly unsatisfactory and "they have demanded that if their co-operation be accepted free scope should be given to prosecute their claim to complete independence" These terms it appears left the Government no alternative but to reject them. In this connection we would remind the public of a few facts which the Government has convieniently forgotten. While the working committee declared the white paper unsatisfactory and reiterated the goal of independence and sketched out a tentative programme of direct action as a last resort, it had at the same time made it clear that the programme would not be put into action and the committee would be prepared to co-operate in the further work of the conference, "provided the Viceroy reconsiders to day's telegram to Mr. Gandhi and adequate relief is granted in respect of the ordinances and its recent acts" Similarly gandhiji himself strained every nerve to co-operate as even the times of India testifies when it writes: "Mr. Gandhi had undoubtedly come back to India with the intention of seeking in everyway to co-operate in implementing the conclusions of the Round Table Conference". Supposing as the Government asserts this intention of his which was apparent to everybody else, was not apparent to it was the imposition in advance of a ban on a full discussion of all the issues the proper way of ascertaining his intention? Even the enemies of India have to admit that Gandhiji "made an indirect approach the viceroy preferred not to take the opportunity thus offered him." The Government have thus put themselves in the wrong at every step and yet hope to secure the support of other parties in the country by an appeal to party and sectional rivalries which is so broad that the most obtuse cannot be taken in by it. It is rather late in the day to try to rally people against a party which not long ago the Viceroy himself described as "the only active political organisation in the country "by allegations that it tries "to impose its will on the public large sections of which deny its authority and oppose its pretensions."

143 5 2702

January 25, 1932.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

In his speech opening the Legislative Assembly to day His Excellency Lord Willingdon, it is apparent takes far too complacent a view of the situation in the country. His Excellency had little to add to what he stated in Calcutta before the European Association and what was subsequently detailed in the elaborate official communique issued after Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. His Excellency states that it was the congress that had torn up the path of conciliation and compelled the Government to take the measures that it has taken. It is difficult to know whether by this His Excellency refers to what was happening in India, according to the Government when Mahatma Gandhi the spokesman of the congress, was actually in England and admittedly unaware of and unable to know the facts from the Government and the Congress and deal to know the facts from the Government and the congress and deal with them or whether he refers to the all too-rapid succession of telegrams exhcanged between himself and Gandhi immediately on the latter's arrival. If it is the former that is referred to as we think, the context indicates we have once again to reiterate the powerful argument in favour of His Excellency restarting conciliation namely that Mahatma Gandhi was not given an opportunity of discussing the situation in all its aspects with the viceroy and of being put in a position to correct or remedy the evils complained of. Those who like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others were in close touch with Mahatma Gandhi in England will bear out the fact that Mahatma Gandhi was most anxious to avert the re-starting of civil disobedience by exploring every avenue of pacific solution and it was a wholly unfounded assumption to make that even when satisfied by facts he would not be in a position to enforce decisions and policies on his lieutants at variance with the latter's supposed inclinations or desires. The manner in which the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was endorsed by the Karachi congress by a resolution moved by Pandi t Jawaharlal Nehru himself should have given the Government the clearest indication that it was upto them to make the utmost effort to

to get Mahatma gandhi to use his undoubted authority and influence over them and the congress for avoiding a crisis that has now resulted in a campaign of civil disobedience, on the one hand and of unparalledled repression on the other. Refering to ~~srepressio~~ repression, the viceroy assured. The House that "government will take all the requisite, Steps to guard against any abuse of special powers". This is not the first time that such official assurance has been given and yet it would seem as if the "requisite steps" have not been such as to prevent the ~~above~~ abuse of powers by subordinate officials. Numerous instances of abuse have come to ~~night~~ light since these officials, were invested with the most extraordinary powers. These latter are wide enough in all conscience and the least that Government can do is to pull up local officials to whom "Law and order" covers a multitude of sins. It is a timely bit of advice which Brigadier general F.P.Gozier, speaking with a personal knowledge of the Irish struggle gives in The Times when he says, "Let the Government of India take a lesson from the Irish trouble and avoid anything in the nature of "manufacturing rebels or grievances' owing to misplaced zeal of subordinates'. The Viceroy is doubtless anxious to enforce the other part of his dual programme namely that of pursuing through the reforms. But he has not realised that success can not attend efforts in this behalf unless they are accompanied by a conciliatory policy we would gain hope that before the committees of the Round Table conference get to grips with the business before them it would be possible to start negotiations that would end civil disobedience and repression and secure that Congress co-operation on honourable terms to all concerned which is so essential to make any constitution that may be devised acceptable to the country.

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Feburary 27, 1932. 145 2706

USE OF FORCE AGAINST PICKETERS.

The brutal beating to which M/s. Kasaa Subba Rao and O.P. Ramaswami were subjected by the Police on Thursday last was the subject of a volley of interpellations to day in the council and the Home Member of the Madras Government had to Congress to the Legislature - this is the first time he has done go - that the police commissioner who saw these two respectable public workers after the incident considered the beating very severe and was conducting an investigation into the whole matter and that his report was awaited. He also admitted that the under secretary to Government in the Public Department who happened to see them at the time was also impressed with security of beating administered by the Police. According to the version supplied to the House on the information of the Police, the beating is stated to have been resorted to in the attempt to disperse a crowd of over 200 people who refused to disperse on an order given to them to do so by the Police on the spot. The circumstances attending the beating of these picketers whose own pacific disposition or conduct has not been disputed have been testified to by a number of these present including Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi and are definitely at vaniance with this version. Besides the method and the manner of dealing with the picketers on whom canes were mercilessly used do not. So far as public can judge suggest that the police were overwhelmed by a menacing mole and had to use force to disperse it in the interests of the safety of the public. It seems to us that apart from the rights and requirements of the law in respect of the dispersal of unlawful assemblies by the use of force a very definite issue has been repeatedly raised in the Legislative council by members and has been as repeatedly evaded by the Government and it would be a pity if on the occasion when the Government themselves have so clearly found that there has been an abused of the unlimited powers of the police to use force, they should not be definitely asked to make a clear pronouncements on the legal limits within which alone force can be used by their subordinates in charge of law and order and the executive instructions issued for their guidance

in resorting to it. It has to be recalled that a number of distinguis[h] lawyers in Madras published sometime ago a manifesto in which they declared that use of force on volunteers by the Police otherwise than for the sole purpose of dispersing an uncontrollable and menacing mobs and to the minimum extent needed for the purpose would be clearly illegal and actionable and that ingenious methods of trying to produce on assembly of give or more by banding picketers together and then using force or on any other pretext would be equally manifestly illegal. It will also be remembered that a Home Member in a recent debate made vague references to the right of Police officers to use force against individuals apart from unlawful assemblies even when they picket in a perfectly peaceful namely in circumstances where no question of self-defence on the part of the Police can arise, under some provisions of the police Act which so far have not been authoritatively cited. It is the manifest duty of the Government in these circumstances to obtain the opinion of their law officers as to the limits of this power to use force and to give the police officer the necessary directsions. ~~The attempt to justify the officer the necessary directions.~~ The attempt to justify the legality of the use of force on individual and peaceful picketers clearly indicated that the Government had before them admitted cases where such force had been used and complained against. Indeed the impression in the public mind is that there have been a very large number of such cases of individuals picketers or civil resisters against whom force was used for the mere fact of their technical breach of orders under the ordinances of the ordinary law, even though they were absolutely peaceful and there was no possiblity of any unlawful assembly creating a breach of the peace. It is indeed a pity in the circumstances that nothing further appears to have transpired to day in the Legislative Council in respect of the adjournment motion notices of which were stated to have been given by two members yesterday. It is to be hoped that the matter will not be left where it stands and that definite steps will be taken by members of the Council to thrash out the whole matter of this use of lathis and canes and other

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forms of force by the Police which has so deeply started the public mind we trust that the Government would allow the council the opportunity to have a full discussion on the whole subject and would definitely lay down after taking legal opinion a policy which would be at once just and sympathetic and would allay the very large amount of public resentment that now prevails.

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March 4, 1932.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mystery surrounds the work of the Indian delegation to south Africa which has returned to India. The delegation to all intends and purposes had not ceased to function till yesterday, for a message from New Delhi published elsewhere says that there was an emergent meeting of the delegation yesterday when the reply received from the Union Government "on certain aspects of the Transvaal Asiatic union Bill was discussed and a further cable was despatched requesting elucidation of few points". This would appear to indicate that all the issues for which the Round Table Conference was held at cape town had been settled except the expropriation measure in the Transvaal. If satisfactory assurances are not given by the Hertzog Government that that obnoxious and dangerous bill would be snapped, the conference must be said to have been a failure and evidently the exchange of cables between India and South Africa has been necessiated by the appearance of an obstacle to mutual understanding on the point. It is a fair inference to draw that the union Government are experiencing difficulties in giving such assurances to the Indian delegation as would tend to allay the apprehensions felt by the Indian Community in the Transvaal that their landed property trading licences and other rights acquired ultimately take, it is not possible to know at present owing to the conspiracy, of silence on the part of the delegation but it is obvious that no settlement would be worth its name if this danger is not definitely removed. Then there is the question of emigration about which Indian opinion holds strong views. The scheme of assisted emigration has brought an great hardships and the policy of repatriation has few supporters among non-officials in either country. The question of the uplift of Indians who are members of the permanent population is another point which it might well be expected, would have been considered by the Conference The delay in announcing the terms of the settlement has not unnaturally given rise to misgivings in the public mind and "the comprehensive statement" which it is stated to is to be made by the Education Member in the central Legislature, will therefore be awarted with interest.

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April 7 1932.

THE CONGRESS BANNED.

The Delhi authorities have intimated that the Government of India are unable to allow the annual session of the Congress to be held "as a campaign of civil disobedience is being carried on by the congress" Now that reason is not quite accurately stated; for it will be remembered that the decision to launch civil disobedience was taken not by the Congress but by the Congress working committee. That the Government too have recognised the distinction is shown by the fact that while the working committee has been declared unlawful, Sir Janes cregar stated in the Assembly the other day in reply to a question, that "the Indian National Congress had not been declared an unlawful association" If the Congress is not regarded as unlawful, it is difficult to see why the Government should object to its annual session being held. Sir Janes Crerar, replying on the same day to another question whether the Government intended to prevent the ~~Rxx~~ Puri Congress being held, replied "untill the question arises in a practical form the Government do not proposed to have to any decision would regard to it". The civil disobedience movement came into existence long before this answer was given and one should have thought that the Government if finally decided to prevent the regular session of the Congress being held, would do so only if there were other valid grounds than the existence of the movement. Which so recently as about a fortnight ago they had apparently not regarded as affording any ground for declaring the Congress as an unlawful association.

Moreover the Government have not thought it necessary in view of the civil disobedience movement to put the lid on the political activities of non-congress parties why then should the Congress the foremost political organisation in the country alone be treated differently? After all it is not as though the organisers had declared their intendtion to convene a special or extra ordinary session of the congress for a particular purpose which might be regarded as likely to further unlawful activities. Their declared intention was ~~whx~~ to hold the a~~ctivities. Their~~

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the usual regular annual session and it must be remembered that while civil disobedience has formed part of the programme of the congress at various times it has never by any means represented the whole or necessary part of its activities and as the Government themselves have acknowledged the Congress as a whole was not associated with the decision which was taken by the working committee to launch the present civil disobedience movement. That decision would according to the constitution of the Congress normally come under its examination if the usual annual session were held. (The Government's refusal to allow the holding of the session thus makes it impossible for the congress to examine in all its bearings the policy and programme of civil disobedience as sanctioned and executed by the working committee.) If the Government were as they have repeatedly declared, anxious to end the present impassee it is to say the least amazing that they should have adopted the course of banning the congress session without making so much as an attempt to satisfy themselves as to the necessity of such a step.

Only the other day Sir George Rainy declaration the Assembly that the Government realised that "it was use proceeding with constitutional reforms with congressmen in jail". But if they are sincerely of this opinion, they must recognise that the "dual" policy is altogether untenable and that the decision to ban the congress session is even more indefensible for with the leaders all tucked away in prison, the parent organisation muzzled and the executives. All India and Provincial declared unlawful it is impossible to imagine with whom the Government can establish contact if they want to make another attempt to seema [secure] in the cause of constitutional reforms, the goodwill and co-operation of what the viceroy himself described as the best organised body of political opinion whose co-operation and that of its leaders the Government recognise as essential to a lasting national sentiment. It is interesting to note that even our local Anglo-Indian contemporary was not prepared for so through a policy as the Government's latest decision indicates, if one may judge

from its note on the subject yesterday in which it assured - a little to previously as events had proved - that Government would raise no objection to the congress pursuing its legitimate business and went on to express the hope that the Congress would "pursue more constructive methods, methods likely to lead to an agreed compromise on the difficult problems involved in constitutional reform". But now that the Delhi gods have decreed otherwise, we have no doubt our ingenious contemporary will applaud their decision and ~~final~~ find adequate reasons therefore at any rate reasons adequate enough to salve its conscience. So far as muzzling the Congress goes the government of India now pride themselves on having realised Lord Irwin's vision of making a desert and calling it peace". But it will be a ~~baneh~~ barren satisfaction and can only delay the inevitable measures of pacification that are now over due.

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May 17, 1932.

TIMELY WARNING.

The situation in India notwithstanding Sir Samuel Hoare's assurances to the contrary is steadily worsening from the point of view of resumption of normal relations. Thoughtful minds in this country and in England alike realise that some decisive step must be taken and that without delay if the drift of the last few months is not to develop into something worse. We publish elsewhere two powerful appeals issued by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore and by the Right Honourable V.S.Srinivasa Sastri respectively for the adoption of a bold and constructive policy based on mutual faith and resolve to put aside the evil legacy of the immediate past. Dr. Tagore's appeal which was given as a message to the society of friends deputation, which went to Santhimleetan in March. , visualises the issues as primarily a moral problem. The promotion of a better understanding between the English and Indian peoples is, he points out the imperative duty of all these who have the welfare of humanity at heart. If the past has any lesson for us it is "the futility of suspicion and hostility". and he would therefore urge both sides to try the better way of "acceptance of truth in a spirit of generous mutual forgiveness". He pleads for "a gesture of goodwill from both sides, spontaneous and generous in its faith in humanity which will create a futue of inner harmony of peace between the peoples of India and England". The unique prestige which the poet enjoys as an ambassador of Culture from the east to the west should gain for his weighty words the attention of all who would public opinion. The Archibishop of york and other prominent Englishmen who have endorsed his appeals in the columns of The Times express the belief that "public opinion in our own country is ready to welcome and respond to it". We have no doubt that instructed public opinion in England does realise the futility of repression - cum - drift. But it has not made itself sufficiently felt by the general public which ignorant and apathetic as ever allows itself to be lulled two reachly by

by the stre neuous Coheism inspired by white hall.

India is as desirous of peace as anybody could be and nothing could more gladden the heart than "a gesture of goodwill from both sides". But in view of the history of the present impose and of the fact that one of the parties does not enjoy that freedom which alone would make a voluntary gesture possible it is for the Government to take the initiative. But unfortunately there are no signs that the Government realises its great responsibility in the matter. It seems to be guided by the belief that all that is needed to concede as little as possible and to supress sternly all manifestations of discontent however natural or legitimate. It is this narrow and illiberal attitude thatis as we pointed out yesterday, alienating even those few liberals who have hitherto hoped for more satisfactory results from the continuation on the conference work. Mr.V.S.Srinivasa Sastri reinforces Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's warning pointing out that dilatory tactics in regard to central responsibility must inevitably rouse solid opposition in the country and thus impede the chances of an amicable settlement. He thinks that "the difficulties in shaping for Federation are exaggerated in the interests of reaction" - which to gether with Sir Tej Bahadur's emphatic opinion to the same efect should dispose of the interested suggestions that the liberals as a party had acquiesced in regarding federation as a distant dream. Mr. Sastri appeals to Moslems and others not to be taken in by the specious pleas that are put forward in support of an interval between provincial autonomy and central responsibility on a federal basis and thus act as an unconscious drag on the political advancement of the country. He also reminds the premises that the idea of federation was their own contribution to the constructive work of the R.T.C. and that it would be improper and unwise for them to disown it or to place obstacles in the path of its realisation. The cardinal factorin the present situation is that the diehard element, in England has fastened upon the apparent disunity in India as an excuse for Britain not fulfilling her plighted word. Let us hope that the Various sections of opinion in the country will awaken to this fact and make a nation wide endeavour to close up the ranks.

May 20, 1932.

LEADERS.

Neither the Substance nor the tone and style of recent communiques of the Madras Government on the civil disobedience movement is calculated to impress the public mind with the impartiality or the accuracy of the "apprehentions" of facts or of the situation generally presented by them we feel bound to say that their publicity value, such as it is, is likely to be seriously discounted by their controversial observations on events connected with civil Disobedience and measures taken to combat it and by their sweeping denominations of the Indian Press and its correspondents whose duty it is togather and publish the news of these happenings. The public might well ask whether these communiques furnish a proper example to journels and press correspondents who are so often charged with and unlike Government publicity authorities, penalised for immoderate critics on or exaggerated presentation of views or facts) It is not difficult to imagine how the much maligned Indian Press would be dealt with by the authorities ordinances if it sought to imitate or improve upon an attempt to make peaceful picketing as such synonymous with provoking disorder. (The communique talks of provoking clashes with the Police but it has not been suggested whether the clash by which we presume it means the use of violence, begins with the picketer or with the police or with the crowd when it becomes turbulent or shows a menacing attitude.) Nor is the official case furthered by general statements that the stores are invented adlibitum by special correspondents that the press is ever ready to publish them without verification and that members of the Legislature fasten upon them to put questions in the Council. We should hardly have imagined that language would be used in a Government communique such as the following "when such are the tactics of civil Disobedience it is idle for its leaders to keep up the pretence" of nonviolence" Nor can the Government true that "force has not been used vindictively or to gratify a private grudge" All that we can say is that that would from neither a justification nor an extenuation.

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May 25, 1932.

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LEADER.

A South African Correspondent writing to Bombay contemporary decribes that part of the agreement entered into in cape Town early this year between the union Government and the Government of Indáa which related to the exploration of a colonisation scheme for Indians from South Afica and India as a "main conclusion". It is obvious that the importance paid to this point is due to the fact that white competitors still believe that a large body of Indians who yet remain can be sent bag and baggage out of South Africa and ~~they htat~~ they expect the Indian Government not only to sympathise with them in this regard but to assist them actively by discovering suitable places for colonisation. In order to reinforce his argument the correspondent quotes from a speech made 5 years ago by a former governor of Bŧitish Guiana in which he h had described the great advantages which would accnue to Indinas by emigrating to British Guiana and deplering that the Government of India were insisting on impossible terms as conditions precedent to permitting Indians to go to that colony. In view of the painful experience which India has in the colonies to which her nationals have migrated no fair minded person can quarrel with the authorities in securing guarantees for perfect equality of treatment. Apart from this aspect of the matter it is undeniable that the Indian community in south Africa regards the the acceptance of this clause in the Agreement as in the nature of a betrayal on the part of the delegation from India. When it is admitted that the vast majority of Indians in South Africa were born and bred in that country, it follows that they should be treated as a permanent part of the population and that citizenship right should be extended to them. Instead of following this fair and logical course, the South African Government are pursuing a policy of pan pricks which cannot but increase the existing bitterness.

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June 16- 1932.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's message on the political situation in India which was in thenature of an appeal to both sides to strive for an honourable and amicable settlement without delay seems to have been communicated to Gandhiji through the proper authorities . It will be seen from on London correspondent's cable pu published elsewhere that his reply to it has been received after a good deal of delay occasioned by its transit through the proverbially slow official channels. Gandhiji enderses the poet's message- which was only to be expected but it is stated, he is unable to make definite proposals without a full interchange and of views with his colleagues. Even many of these who have been disposed to defend some of the emergency measures that have been in operation during the past six months have admitted that Gandhiji came back to India with every desire to carry on the work of the conference to co-operate with the Government in the task of hammering out a self Government constitution. We have more than once pointed out that the viceroy's refusal to meet Gandhiji and talk out the situation with him queered the pitch and precipitated the deadlock which ~~continuous~~ this day. In the circumstances Gandhiji reported readiness to canvass possible methods of ending the present impasse can only be regarded as affording are more striking proof of this will to peace. The question that arises is what the Government are prepared to do to build a bridge over the chasm that suddenly opened up in the path of concilliation and negotiation in the beginning of this Year. Speaking in the commons some time ago, Sir Samuel Hoarl took up the position that the Government were always willing to give their earnest attention to any proposalsthat might be put forward by Gandhiji and that they did not think that the services of any intermediary would be required in this connection So if Gandhiji's isolation from his colleagues was the only obstacle in the way of his making definite proposals it would be reasonable to suppose that the Government might take measures to facilitate "a free exchange of views". But such an exchange of views, in

order to be fruitful, would seem to presuppose a definite change in the Government of India policy of which there are so far no signs. Far from repression being relaxed, the terms of renewal of the Bengal ordinance and the numerous mass arrests that are going on simultaneously in various provinces suggest that ordinance rule is that Chief remedy for India's ills and that if there are no marked signs of improvement in the patient's condition, the only thing to be done is to increase the dose. The continuance of the consultative committee in a state of suspended animation and the obvious reluctance of the Government to announce a decision on the communal issue, coupled with the fact that the difficulties inherent in an All-India federation still remain obdurate as Mr. H.P.Mody points out suggest that so far as the Reform part of the dual policy is concerned the Government are singularly denied and his congress colleagues are in a mind to make proposals for ending the present impasse and are given facilities to do so. it will not do for the Government to think that all they need do is to sit in the judgment over the proposals when they are placed before them. They must not only take such administrative and other measures as would convince public opinion that the so called dual policy has been definitely abandoned for a policy of statesmanlike conciliation; they must also definitely make up their mind to a much greater advance in India than the preponderant Tory element in Parliament has so far reconciled itself to.

June 18, 1932.

THE DUAL POLICY.

The ordinances will expire by effux of time in the course of the next few days. The question as to whether they will be renewed in some form or other is intimadates, bound up with the larger question whether the Government have come to realise the necessity for a radical change in their India policy. That is apparently what the Viceroy's Executive Council has been discussing and the prolonged interviews which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar are reported have had with Lord Willingdon and source members of his council has presumably been utilised to impress upon the Government of India and through it, upon His Majesty's Government the imperative need for a change of policy. The earlier report that the communal settlement formed. One of the subjects of discussion at these interviews has been energetically contradicted and it is stated that the talks were Confirmed only to the procedure to be adopted in settling the further stages of constitutional reform. But it seems to us that it wouldbe profitless to consider this question in isolation and that if a satisfactory solution of the constitutional question is desired neither the policy underlying the ordinances nor the question of a communal settlement can be treated as a matter that must be left to the sole discretion of the Government. In this connection it is useful to remember that present statements was directly brought about by the Government's claim that they could not discuss the need for the ordinances with the congress as they were administrative matters for which the Government could not share their responsibility with anybody else. If the stalemate is to be ended this untenable attitude should be dropped. No Government which cares for public opinion should deny any political organisation in the name of law-and order the right to make representations on matters vitally affecting the rights and liberties of large sections of the population. Such a refusal becomes all the more unreasonable when the organisation in question speeaks for a preponderant section of public opinion and its co-operation would as the Government itself had recognised at an

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earlier date be essential for securing the objects for which emergency powers were deseried. The Viceroy's refusal to discuss the ordinances with Gandhiji when the latter assured him that if he was convinced that there was need for the ordinances, he would do his best to help combat terorism, was therefore regarded by the public as a lamentable instance of cutting the nose to spite the face. Because simla and whitehall decided that the Congress should be taken down a peg or two. Gandhiji's offer was refused - so it was widely felt at the time and a splendid chance of securing the object which six months of ordinance rule has not been able to achieve was they thrown wa awayx away. If this mistake is to be retrieved it is the Government that must take the initiating to secure the free co-operation of congress. leaders which alone as Mr. David in his letter to The Times of India points out, "would ka in the opinion of even the best informed prove not only valuable but effective". If this is accepted a decision not to renew the ordinances would be the natural corollary. The enormous harm that the ordinances have done to the promotion of a friendly understanding between the two countries is vividly described in the letters of Mr. David x and of "an Irishman" reproduced elsewhere from the columns of our Bombay contemporary. It would be a fatal blunder to let slip this second opportunity of retreating from an impossible position which is provided by the fact that the ordinances are nearing the en d of their normal duration. The abandonment of ordinance rule will not of course suffice by itself to allay the situation. The Government must as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru points out definitely reconcile itself to the fact that India will be content with nothing Sort of substance of ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ self Government. If it learns to face this fact squarely it should have no difficulty in securing the co-operation of the congress and all other sections of the public opinion in the great tasks that the ahead.

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June 28- 1932.

THE ANNOENCEMENT.

A brief examination of the Government's proposals fully bears out this impression. They have no doubt "definitely decided to endeavour to give effect to their policy by means of a single Bill which will provide alike for autonomous constitutions in the provinces and for federation of provinces and states" But this formal compliance with the general demand for a single comprehensive Bill is qualified by a proviso which robs it altogether of its value. For the Government intend "that this measure shall contain provisions for enabling provincial constitutions to be introduced without necessarily awaiting the completion of all the steps required for the actual inauguration of the Federation". The Statement goes to indicate that these steps may not only take a good deal of time but will also depend upon the willingness and readiness of the such dialatory tactics would be resorted to that the separate Bill was opposed at the last R.T.C. supporting as is foundly hoped and designed in certain quarters it is found impossible to fulfil the stipulated conditions by the time Bill is introduced notwithstanding the Government's intention "So far as it lies within their power to spare no efforts to secure" their fulfilment, what would be the final shape that the Bill would take? It would in all probability be trimmed with a view to the introduction of provincial autonomy forthwith, a nebulous and contingent scheme of federation to be put into force whenever conditions should permit. It is this development that Indian opinion has foreseen and opposed all along for reasons which Sir T.B.Sapru succinctly summarised in his article in The Spectator:

However much you may train the Central Government to suit autonomous responsible provinces, in essence the centre must continue to remain irresponsible and friction between the two in actual practice will be inevitable. To provide for the gap of several years or even 18 months between a change in the provinces and that at the centre is to invite fresh agitation & to create new forces provinces which will wreck all chances of federation. In any case India will not settle down to constructive work.

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Were the government thinking of these possibilities when in drafting their statement they put down the significant words "the units concerned must be prepared actually to federate."

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July 12 1932.

THE BOMBAY DECISION.

The decisions arrived at by important representatives of Indian Opinion in Bombay on Saturday and Sunday last in regard to the developments that have taken place on Sir Samuel Hoare's reversal of the R.T.C. policy and procedure, have apparently taken some pro-government advocates in the press by surprise. We doubt whether the Government themselves in India or in England seriously expected any other stand, consistent with their self-respect on the part of Round Table delegates than what they took on saturday last. It seems also more than probable that they have fully anticipated the same and have nevertheless determined to pursue their path undeterred by what these members of the Round Table Conference may or may not do. According to our special cable to day, the Guardian's special correspondent thinks that the Government "will ignore Sir T.B.Sapru's resignation and carry on with the All India Federation project hoping that if it can once get the provincial Legislatures and cabinets into being with a statutory provision for the formation of Responsible central federal authority these institutions will have strength to attract all that is healthy in India to work them".

It is clear therefore that that the design throughout has been to scrap the Round Table Conference as well as to go back on the very well defined policy of which it was the outcome and which Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Bem with the full and warm approval of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself initiated in 1929 and 30. It is really the attempt to make a pretence of continuing the old policy of "co-operation and consultation or whatever be the words used, that has confused several of our Anglo-Indian critics who have rushed to the support of the Government's new policy. Some of these can-did friends appear to have assumed that it would have been perfectly possible to re-instate or resummar the federal structure and thereby save the situation if only the definite notification of non-co-operation which not merely the liberals and Moderates but practically every vocal and representative element in India have deemed it their duty to utter at the present juncture, had not been carried out so

promptly. It has to be recollected that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have had full discussions new procedure and policy and their definite conclusion that it amounted to a reversal of the old policy. Notwithstanding explanations, inspired and uninspired, from white hall as well as from Simla, these friends have been pressing the Viceroy as well as premier for a clear declaration in so many terms that conference method of agreement in framing the constitution exists in fact and in spirit. They not only could not obtain any positive definite affirmation of assurance in this behalf but they found that every pronouncement and communique subsequent to the official statement of the 27th June last has gone to emphasise the merely consultative capacity of Indian representatives and the exclusive responsibility and authority of Parliament and its committee to decide the form and content of the future Indian constitution. All this only went to confirm them in their determination to tender their resignation which they eventually did we have no doubt whatever that these friends who have so long laboured for a policy of conciliation conference and compromise and for the method of settlement by agreement would not have sent in their resignations untile they had satisfied themselves beyond the shadow of a doubt that such a policy has been once for all given up and that "irrevocable decisions" to a different intent have been taken. The fact moreoever, that these resignations were accepted by the Viceroy makes it equally clear that the assurances which alone would have satisfied them that there was no change of policy could not be given by him on behalf of the secretary of state and His Majesty's Government. In this state of things, all comment as regards either the method or the manner of the resignations or of the value of delay and deliberation seem to us entirely beside the point. If there are any doubters left among any rationally minded sectionof the public in India in this matter, let them peruse the searching analysis and given in another column of the impression produced and the intention disclosed by Sir Samuel Hoare in

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his speech in the House of commons on the 27th June last.

What emerges therefore is that the new procedure comprehends not merely the abandonment of the Conference and the agreement method in favour of the select committee method but also the intention and determination on the part of His Majesty's Government - which The Manchester Guardian's special correspondent apparently adverts to and of which we are sure the Round Table delegates have had also some information that the authorities are confident and intend that this new policy should be firmly pursued to the next stage. According to their plan, it would seem that they hope to get the provincial legislatures and cabinets of their making into being to work a so called provincial autonomy under directions from a central Government which will continue to be controlled by the bureaucracy and the India office,. It is after such a constitution is put into force that the formation of a responsible central federal authority from these "healthy" elements will be taken up; we have no doubt that fuller details in this behalf will be disclosed in due course and we can only hope that by the time this happens the unity and the determinations with which India will have to press her demand for full responsible Government, central and provincial, will be again organised on an all party basis in the country acting in the country acting in the manner in which they did successfully when the Government attempted to force the unwanted Simon commission upon the country.

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July 19, 1932. 2746

The only two steps by which India may be concilliated are just those which the conservative have in effect rejected. The first is the calling off of repression but Sir Samuel Moarewould not agree, shrewd observers in India and England however foresee from this attitude nothing but disaster. Mr. R.E. Mawkins writing to the New Statesman and Nation from Bombay Say truly: "Among Europeans the rightness of Government action seems axiomatic; the Congress differs from Government and is therefore wrong; the crushing of the congress becomes on end in itself". But there is a fly in the ~~xx~~ ointment. Mr. Hawkins observes: "The only thing that threatens the consummation of the policy is (apparently) growing strength of the congress under repression. Sooner or later there must be compromise and the longer it is delayed the harden it will be to inaugurate" Pretty much the same thing is said by an contemporary which writes:

The left wing does not and would not co-operate and the fact has to be faced that this year's method of ruling India by ~~xx~~ Penal ordinances and the police has made an end of the Congress Right wing destroyed the moderate element and made Indian society as a whole deeply disgusted with the British Raj. How then, is the procedure of conference to be resumed? There can be no settlement in India so long as the congress is merely a proscribed body with everyone of its prominent members in gaol. The constitution Committees have shown good speed in getting through their work and no doubt the Government must given with the work of drafting. But the first imperative necessity is to create the machinary for ending necessity of to create the the deadlock and changing the atmosphere in India.

Here we come to the second requisite, that is the pursuit of the conference method in aiming at a lasting settlement of teh the constitutional problem, that method involving the agreement among British representatives and representatives of India who count and can deliver the goods. But this method the Secretary of state for India has rejected.

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August 3 1932.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

(Thex answers to the question put yesterday and to day in the Madras Legislative Council relating to the treatmentof political prisoners in the matter of diet and in interviews betray a hardening of the official attutide towards them.) We are unable to perceive why this should be so. We trust that it be tokenesno change in the policy of the Government and that they will take early measures to remedy the grievanes brought to notice. (In particulars we would urge them to remove what we understand to be the newly inspired restirictions as to interviews which seem to apply to all classes of prisoners such as, for instance, the maintaining of a wire or bar fence between the prisoners and the close relatives who go from long distances to see them. The decision to refuse to provide buttermilk to all "C" class prisoners but also of ordinary prisoners, whose habitual diet can be easily shown to include or exclude buttermilk as the case may be. There are many communities and classes in the districts to whom buttermilk is a sheere necessity and there are others who do not so regard it) It is not right for the Government go generalise in this sweeping manner and cut off buttermilk from the rations of those who are accustomed to it and who would we believe be quite willing even to forego some position of non-buttermilk diet for the purpose of the Government must needs retrench it in their case. We trust the matter will receive prompt and further sympathetic attention.

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August 13 1932.

ALL INDIAN PROPAGANDA.

A FAIR SAMPLE OF THE KIND OF ANTI-Indian propaganda which is the ruling passion of retired curtains is furnished by a correspondence in The Scotsman initiated by Sir Norman Kemp lately chief justice of Bombay. Sir Norman thinks that the Government should proceed with the constitution that it has rightly or wrongly decided upon as suitable for Indian needs". But he is at no pains to conceal his opinion that the Government were wrong in deciding to grant a democratic constitution to India. And he proceeds to make suggestions as to how the mischief likely to be caused by the Government's mistaken generosity may be kept with limits. Safeguards he wails will not preserve the British connection or protect vested interests". He would therefore embody in the new constitution such clauses as will guarantee that there shall be a majority of represenatives in the new assemblies to protect the minorities and favourable to the British connection". Other modest demands are that the new franchise should be very limited, that congressmen who have been imprisoned should be debaned from voting or standing for election - "at any rate, at the first elections" is a ki kind concession made as an after thought that the minorities and the princes should be given all they want. His letter winds up with the remark inteded to mollify a correspondent who for a wonder him with being thoughtlessly lenient to Indian claims that "after all I expect he and I are probably agreed that in the near future great Britain will in any case have to return xxxxx to India preserve law and order or repeal invasion". It is a small point but as Sir norman seems so sure of this why in the name of wonder, should be ask for gurantees of stable government which in so far as they are successful have the effect of postponing England's trimphan return?.

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August 26, 1932.

INDIAN CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

According to a cablegram published by The T imes of India from its correspondent in Durban, Indians in the Transvaal would appear to have decided on offering passive resistance in regard to the Asiatic Land Tenure Act. It is stated that a meeting of Indian women has supported this decision while a demand has been made that an emergency session of the South African Indian National Congress should be convened at the end of this month in order to consider the proposal. It will be remembered that thi s session was postponed in order to enable the new Agent to acquaint himself thoroughly with the situation in South Africa and advise the Indian community as regards the attitude they should adopt towards the policy of pin pricks followed by the union Government for some reason which is not clear this emergency session has so far not been convened and Indians in Transvaal have in consequence been very much upset by what they believe to be the unfair method of the Executive of the Congress. It is obvious that if any movemant of the kind suggested should be successful it must secure the hearty co-operation or the whole of the community in South Africa whose record in this respect is there for all the world to see. It will be most unfortunate if any attempts are made to divide the Indian community on this subject and if the reported indecision of the Executive of the congress is due to any move made on thepart of responsible persons to drive a wedge into the community, we are sure the ultimate consequences of such tactics could only be to still further reduce the status and influence of Indians in South Africa. The Acting Agent to the Government of India has circulated for signature the form to be filled in in ters of section 6 of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act by these who may be in legal occupation or residence on proclaimed land. It is specifically stated that by filling the forms no body makes an admission of illegal occupation residence. Persons are asked to fill up if they consider they are protected by Act 37 of 1919 or they consider they are on land that is not proclaimed land or they first ammended to reside on or occupy a grand on proclaimed land

or they first commended to reside on or occupy a stand on proclaimed land on a date subsequent to May 1st 1930. The question is whether Indians affected by the new Act should send these forms dully filled in. Obviously the Acting Agent desires that this should be done in order that the humerous Indians who are affected by the Act may be saved from the consequences of disobeying the provisions of the Act. Indian opinion, however takes a different view. While appreciating the reasons for the advice given by the Acting Agent our contemporary advises the community against submitting themselves to a piece of legislation the chief object of which is to humiliate them and depirve them of their cherished rights and privileges. Indian opinion observes.

Let every Indian in the Transvaal ask these questions into himself and then be guided by his own conscience not forgetting that the destiny of his future is placed in his hands. that he represents not himself but the three hundred and thirty three million people ~~ext~~ of India; that any step taken by him may result either in keeping open or baning for ever the door against self-respecting Indian desiring to come to this country. Then having fully realised his responsibility let each individual act according to the dictates of his conscience.

This development was not inexpected for Indian in the Transvaal have from the beginning of this controversy, been most active in condemning the provisions of the new measure and demanding that the Government of India should resist its passage and never agree to it. The questions is fraught with grave diff-iculties; and being trustees for the welfare of the Indian community; and the Government of India should take care not to assume an attitude which would make it difficult for them to bring their unglience to bear upon the Indian community. Throughout from the commencement of the struggle in South Africa the Government of India have particularly during Lord Hardinge's time unreservedly placed their moral support at the disposal of the community and we hope that in the coming critical months they will adopt the same sympathetic attitude and avert a crisis by exerting pressure upon the union Government in all ways open to them.

September 20 1932.

THE FAST BEGINS.

Gandhiji began his fast at noon to day. The Bombay conference is hard at work striving for a settlement conference and the Hindu leaders who have waited on Gandhiji in jail and are in full possesson of his views may have discovered a formula that would satisfy all reasonable men. The public statement they have made as to Gandhiji's attitude holds out some hope that the negotiations may be crowned with success. For it is plan that Gandhiji while totally opposed to separate plan electorates in any form shape is ready to consider any other suggestion that may be made and is prepared to concede to the depressed classes the most ample representation. The differences having been so greatly ha hanowed down a satisfactory compromise should not be difficult if only Dr. Ambedkar and his friends would look to the spirit and not to the letter It would indeed have been a matter for pride to the country and an eye opener to the world if such a solution could have been arrived at before the fast commenced and thus effectively prevented it. That however was not to be we cannot help feeling that the Government who might have done a good deal to case the situation have been procrasti-nating at a time when promptness is all. Gandhiji has it is stated refused the conditional release they had offered him as they might have well foreseen and will be kept in a bungalow inside the jail. It would certainly have been for mere graceful if they had released him unconditionally and sufficiently early so that the leaders' conference could have had the benefit of his presence and advice. As it is the Government have had with them for 4 days a full statement the Government have had with setting out his views but have not seen their way so far to publish it though they have admitted that it would be unfair to deny him fascilities for it expressing his reasons for undertaking the fast and they should see that a full statement

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of his views at a psychological moment may be an important factor in bringing about a settlement. In view of the attitude taken up by the Government redoubled efforts are called for on the part of the leaders of both the depressed classes and the caste Hindus and it will be the country's prayer that such efforts may be made and may achieve success with the least possible delay.

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September 27, 1932.

RELEASE GANDHIJI.

The medical reports on Gandhiji's health give cause for uneasiness. Dr. Gilders opinion that he had entered the danger zone was no doubt given before the fast was broken; the bulletin issued at midnight yesterday is more reassuming, but the fact that blood pressure persists and has to be particularly guarded against makes it urgently necessary that he should have perfect freedom and quiet. Gandhiji himself gratified by the wonderful awakening in the country and eager to harness it to the task of improving untouchability in all forms must find it hard to take the rest that is so urgently needed. The singularly moving appeal that he has issued to his countrymen on his breaking fast shows how his soul is ague with the desire to push on with the good work till it is consummated. But it is not difficult to realise that the task of framing such an appeal at such a time could have been undertaken only at a serious loss of vital energy. It is earnestly to be wished that Gandhiji would be persuaded to husband his resources till such time as he is pronounced to be perfectly fit. The public can also help in his speedy recovery by not allowing its natural anxiety for his safety to obtrude itself on his attention in ways which by inducing avoidable excitement must retard discovery.

We write thus of course on the assumption that the lobby rumours that Gandhiji will be shortly released to which our simla correspondent refers will prove true. It requires no elaborate argument to show why the Government should take this step without delay. Even if there were no other reason, the serious state of his health should take this step without delay. Even if there were no other reason, the serious state of his health, should be regarded a as it was on another occasion, for his unconditional release. But there are other weighty reasons also why this should be done. Gandhiji's heart is set upon pursuing and consolidating the unique victory that has been achieved within the past week over the forces of reaction and obscurantism within the past week over the forces of reaction and obscurantism, within the Hindu fold.

He is himself reported to have stated that "many parts of the poona settlement of the gravest importance to the depressed classes were outstanding and required continuance of the contact". which he had been permitted with friends outside the prison interested in the matter. Denial of these fascilities would have serious reprehensions on his health; nor can the Government consistently with their oft repeated desire to do all that can be done to improve the status of the depressed classes, deny these fascilities to the one man who has done more for them cause than anyother individual or organisation. If this is granted the Government will realise that there is really no alternative to setting Gandling at liberty, for apart from the trouble and inconvenience from the administrative point of view of continuing the amazement which has been in force for the past week to ensure full access to Gandhiji to all who wish to consult him or whom he wishes to consult continued retention in jail must have the effect of making him feel that he was not a free agent and that his power for efective intervention in the cause of communal and national unity was being unduly crampled, from his statement to the press published elsewhere, it will be seen that he does not regard as utopian the desire we expressed in these columns yesterday that are more attempt might be made to compose internal differencies on a much wider scale. Referring to the Hindu-Moslem such question he says. "I hope and pray that there will be as a result of this upheaval a spontaneous move in this direction and then surely the other communities can no longer stand out" who can usher in if not he that new era, for which he longs," of mutual trust, mutual give and take and the recognition of the fundamental unity of all communities"? But the Government must make it possible for him to take effective action in this behalf. And if they are wise they will see here a splendid opportunity to lift their Indian policy out of the vicious circle into which it has been caught. A bold stroke of statesmanship at the psychological movement which would make it possible for Gandhiji and the Congress to resume co-operation in an honourable manner may yet retrieve the situation.

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October 11- 1932.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Government of India on bearing that the South African Indian Congress had decided upon passive resistence in respect of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, cabled to their Agent that they regretted the decision and felt "that the action taken can only alienate a few friends which the Indian community has in South Africa and will undo all the efforts of the two preceding Agents to improve the relations between the two races". Mr. Sorabji Rustonji the South African Indian leader who presided over the recent conferance at Johannessburg has sent a spirited rejoinder to the criticisms directed against the resolutions of the Congress by the European press in South Africa by Mr. Sastri and the Government of India. He points out that the delegation of last December utterly failed in its negotiations with the union Government on the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill. The "Segregation" clause in that Bill violently offended against the "uplift" clause of the cape Town Agreement of 1927. It is the union Government therefore that has broken its pledge to do everything possible to ameliorate the conditions of living of Indians. He added: "In the Transvaal the Agent of the Government of India shall take up residence at the the carlton Hotel under this Act Kunwar Maharaj Singh, the present Agent, whenever he visits the Transvaal will have to be at the mercy of the Minister for the interior who may grant him an exemption to stay at Carlton Hotel. "Mr. Rustanji has emphatically declared that there will be no wavering from the stand the community had taken up at the Johannesburg conference preparations by way of enlisting support and enrolling volunteers are proceeding and the pledge that the volunteers have to take points out that the pledge is taken in defence of the natural rights of our people to be recognised and treated as civilised members of this province, and solemnly and sincerely pledge ourselves by all we hold sacred and dear, to suffer and endure without retaliation whatever conse-quences may result to ourselves through passive resistance."

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The pledge goes further on to say that the volunteers would meet any violence with which they may be confronted unresistingly and in a spirit of charity and forgiveness. The struggle will not commence till the Feetham Commission now sitting submits its report. By the very nature of the case the findings of the Commission cannot mitigate the hardships entailed by the provisions of the obnoxious Act though some amount of relief may be afforded to a few individuals affected by that legislation.

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October 15, 1932.

LEADER.

The enormous grief between the professions and practice of the "National" Government as regards India has been repeatedly pointed out in these columns and by numerous other Indian critics. But Sir Samuel Hoare has told us that, though the dogs bark the Caravan passes on. We wonder whether even he could by a similar gesture of aloofness repel the charge of gross breach of faith towards India that has been brought against His Majesty's Government by one of its most powerful if in convieniently outspoken supporters. For that in effect, is what Mr. Churchill's of triumph comes to. He is not only assured that government is not going to keep its word to India but he simply glories in it. "The Indian political classes", he writes in the hospitable columns of the Daily Mail" are not going to be given Dominion Status or responsible Government for All India in any period which it is worth our while to consider now" That is a most unequivocal statement. What is even more significant is the fact that he cites the "new elaborate procedure announced by Sir Samuel Hoare". as his authority for it. That procedure in his view has been designed to deprive India of any real voice in the framing of the constitution and in support of this contention he points to the fact that the conference that is to meet in London will be utterly unrepresentative because of the non-participation of the congress. We have rarely had the good fortune to agree with Mr. Winston Churchill on any matter of important but we must confess that no more striking tribute (nor one so essentially trend has been paid to the congress than his statement that "The Congress is the only body which can express excite or allay". He pertinently argues that the exclusion of the congress will deprive the London conference of any validity and that the proposal for ~~ex~~ reform that may emerge will therefore be really the Government's own proposals and not proposal embodying agreed decisions. These proposals will have to go before the select committee and Mr. Churchill is quite confident that the reaction-aryism of the Tory rank and file and

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and of the House of Lords might be trusted to sterilise them of any little touch of progressivism that they might reveal. Mr. Churchill's jubilation is as thoughtless as it betokens an irrepressible temperamental irresponsibility. If as he concedes, "The Congress is the only body which can express, excite or allay how long can the Government hope to put the stopper on its activities or how long can it hope to Governm India without its Co-operation? Mr. Churchill may overlook these vital questions but no Government may do so without appearing incredibly foolish in the eyes of the world. In view of this fact and in view of the fact that Mr. Churchill is too important a figure in Tory politics to be brushed aside superciliously. India will wait with Interest to see whether the Governmnet is going to acquesce in his interpretation of its intentions or to repudiate it. If it takes the latter course it can not logically stop there it must go farther and make an earnest endeavour to summon in London a conference that will be really representative.

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October 19. 1932.

RELEASE GANDHIJI.

Urgent representations for the early release of Gandhiji with a view to ending the present impasse are being received by the Government from leaders and public bodies who are not usually found in the same Camp. Moulana Shaukat Ali and Sir Mahomed Iezbal alike suggested that Gandhiji's active co-operation would be a great help in solving the communal problem Dr. Tagore has pledged that Government should recognise the fact that "the only real check to disorder to distrust between our people and the English is the influence of congress under Mahatmaji's own leadership" and that the proper think to do is not to attempt to crush the congress but to release Gandhiji so that he may take part in the most important stage of the negotiations which is now coming and also for dropping the ordinance Bill. Prominent European merchants in Bombay, speaking from the made point of view have expressed their belief that "the withdrawal of the ordinances and civil disobedience would help to achieve the desired peace in all markets", and that the early release of Mahatma Gandhi would help to accelerate the end of the trouble. The fact that these and other similar representations have followed one another in quick succession shows how widespread is the anxiety that the alienation between the two peoples should not proceed further and that even at this eleventh hour an attempt should be made to prevent the new constitution being still born. But the Government where they at all have cared to reply, have uniformly taken up the attitude that so long as the congress is wedded to civil disobedience the Government can have no truck with it. what they persistently overlook is the fact that Lord Irwin found no difficulty in negotiating with the Congress even when it was actively engaged in civil disobedience; nor should it be forgotten in this connection that there might have been recrudence of civil disobedience if the viceroy had not chosen to refuse to see Gandhiji and give him an opportunity to co-operate. Refusal to face facts cannot enable the Government go get rid of them; they will merely become more stubborn.

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November 2 1932.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The treatment of civil disobedience prisoners in the jails in the presidency has not been all that could be desired if one may judge from the numerous compliants received from there who have been released after serving their term. The letter from Mr. E.Krishna Aiyar we published yesterday giving his personal experience of conditions in the Madura and Vellore jails the reports of the recent happenings in Bellary jail and other similar complaints go to show that there is only too much cause for the uneasiness felt by the Public on this score. And the replies elicited by questions in the Legislative Council are in no way calenlated to dispel these suspicions. The Law Member admitted that at the conference of collectors held on the 18th May last the question of discipline among civil disobedience prisoners was discussed and as a result orders were issued by the Government that the rules in the Jail Manual for the enforcement of discipline which apply to all prisoners should be observed without discrimination." Asked what was the necessity for the issue of such orders he replied that representations had been made by some collectors that a kind of discrimination was made in favour of civil disobedience prisoners. The issue of these orders suggests that the Government shared the view of collectors in questions that certain jail superintendents were showing undue lenience to civil disobedience prisoners. But no evidence has been adduced to show that there was any laxity in maintaining discipline or that any advantage was taken of it by the political prisoners. After all it is the local jail authorities who are immediately concerned to maintain discipline and if they could do this and yet mete out considerate treatment to these who are in jail for their political convictions and are a race drawn from a class which has nothing in common with the ordinary criminal, it seems to us that there was no need for the Government to fall in with a demand that the disciplinary rules should be observed without discrimination. Apparently this implied censure has had the effect, whether desired by the Government or not, of making the jail authorities harsher and more exacting

in their handling of civil disobedience prisoners than they were during the previous non-co-operation campaign. This new and undesirable spirit is to be detected not merely in the enforcement of discipline but also in the getting of tasks and in the regulation of interviews. It is a sorry state of affairs in which rpisoners of the type of Mr. A.Vydianatha Aiyar of Madma Could be alloted tasks such as the manufacture of money bags involving hard manual labour. The placing of wirenetting between prisoners and their visitors, the indiscriminate censorship of letters andthe numerous other pin-pricks which seem to be the order of the day may be the result of excessive zeal on the part of the local authorities to better their indsturctions and to reterieve their reputation for discipline. But the government cannot disclaim responsiblity for the harshness and humiliation that this kind of treatment impeess.

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November 15 1932.

LEADER.

Mr. Haig's replies to questions in the Assembly regarding the refusal of facilities to Gandhiji to help in the settlement of the Hindu Muslim question emphasise the fact that the bureaucrat can no mere change his mentality than the leopard its spots. "Mr. Gandhi is detained in jail "he said, "on account of civil Disobedience necessarily is still his avowed programme. A prisoner must necessarily suffer disabilities and can not expect to take part in the ordinary Public life of the country." This dictum reveals a confusion of ideas which in an official of Mr. Haig's experience and standing is truly amazing Gandhiji is not an ordinary prisoner; he is a state prisoner detained at His Majesty's pleasure because of his civil disobedience programme and presumably with a view to prevent him from pursuing that programme. The contention that "a prisoner must necessarily suffer disabilities " can obviously have no application to Gandhiji because he has not been sentenced by the due process of law to a term of imprisonment which carries with it as a subsidiary punishment, such civil disabilities as enforced seclusion from the ordinary public life of the country. The Government have by executive authority deprived time by their action in connection with the anti-untenebality question they have recognised that his detention as a state prisoner should not be allowed to operate to the public detriment. Far from the Hindu "Moslem question being a mere item in "the ordinary public life of the country" it is regarded on all hands as the point on which the restoration of peace, involving the abandonment of civil disobedience turns whatever the legal position it would be therefore pedantry of the worst type to insist that a prisoner is a prisoner and should be treated as such regardless of public interests and of the cause of the peace which the Government never weary of telling us that they have at heart.

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December 9 1932.

PLIGHT OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS.

In the council of state yesterday, Sir Fasli Hussain stated that the Government regretted they were unable to allot a day for the discussion of the question of Indians in South Africa as the present session was an emergent one, but that arrangements would be made to acquaint the public with such important developments as might occur. He added that the Government were keeping themselves in close touch with their Agent. It is evidently due to the strong representatins made from India that the South African Government have now realised the necessity for affording relief to the unemployed Indians who are said to number 4000 in Durban alone. Our South African correspondent in his cable published elsewhere, says that col. Geswell, the Minister of Labour has informed the Durban Town council that the Government were prepared to assist the council in relief operations provided the work performed was restricted to Indian areas. Some time ago, that council appointed a sub-committee to inquire into the extent of unemployment among Indians as a result of representations made by the Agent for India but the council was apparently by living to go to the rescul of Indians unless the union Government came to their aid. It is unfair that Indians, should suffer becauseof financial disputes between Natal and the central Government and the latter's offer of assistance is apparently the result of their realisation of the fact that under the cape Town Agreement of 1927 they were responsible for the uplight of the Indian community in a more real sense than the provinces. MaharajKumar Singh has been stressing this point in his addresses and representation and it is gratifying to learn that they have had some effect. One consequence of the economic depression brought on by the discharge of Indians from the railways, harbour etc., has been to give a fillip to the assisted emigration scheme which the second cape Town Agreement decided to give a decent burial. "The Scheme". writes Indian opinion "though withdrawn from the Agreement has not been withdrawn from Act of 37 of 1927. The result is that hundreds

of our countrymen and women are still taking advantage of it and leave this country - the land of their birth - for good. In this regard, the Natal Indian Congress must do some active work. Meetings should be organised in all parts of Natal and our ignorant countrymen must be informed that they must not leave this country and go to India as the condition is extremely bad there for them". It is the duty of the union Government in terms of the Agreement, to consider Indian community as members of the permanent population of the country eintitled to all these rights and privileges extended to the whites.

If this explicit clause in the Agreement had been observed there would not have arisen the crisis which has developed in regard the Asiatic Land Tenure Act. In spite of the advice given by the Government of India and their Agent, the south African Indian congress has resolved to passively resist the enforcement of the provisions of a piece of confiscatory legislation the object of which is to bring about the business and residential segregation of Indians in the Transvaal. It is true that the laws have been very severe but their operation has been benefit and Indians in the Transvaal in the proclaimed land been made to believe that they could hold land and reside in the reserved areas if the letter of the law was observed. After Indians had built up large and lurative business and acquired very valuable properties it is monstrous that measures should be taken to reduce the capital value of these lands and houses and ask them to clear out and live and trade in defined areas. After deciding to resist that Act it was only consistent that the Indian community should not co-operate with the Feetham commission which is enquiring into the holdings of Indians in the proclaimed land so as to enable it to make its recommendations to the executive to provide relief to these who would be adversely affected by the law. The Agent tried to persuade the community to offer evidence before the commission but the congress was firm and refused to act in a manner inconsistent with its forms decisions. It has been obvious from the beginning that the commissions findings however liberal they might be cannot possibley mitigate the seventy of the Asiatic Land Te

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Tenure Act. And the Congress of course has decided not to offer passive resistence till the commission has submitted its report. But the crisis is bound to assume proportions very soon if in the meanwhile the union Government do not see their way to protect the vested interests of Indians and respect their self-respect It is not clear what the Government of India have been doing in respect of this matter. After all that has happened they cannot afford to be content with merely advising the Indians to refrain ~~for~~ from embarking upon a struggle which cannot but inflict considerable suffering on them.

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File no. 25

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"The Hindu".

January 16, 1933.

Leader.

The statement issued by Gandhiji today seems to us to indicate that if Congressmen were given an opportunity to consult in the fullest freedom they would be prepared to review the entire situation dispassionately Active participation in the campaign against untouchability is being felt by large bodies of Congressmen as a compelling necessity, just as with Gandhiji it is a matter of conscience, a religious conviction. Gandhiji himself points out that there are many Congressmen at large who are at a loss to decide whether they should continue Civil disobedience or take up anti-untouchability work. It is a matter on which he feels is incompetent to advise them partly by reason of the fact that he is bound in honour not to take advantage of the latitude given him by the Government regarding untouchability work, by giving directly or indirectly a lead in the matter of Civil disobedience. But he points out that if a Civil resister feels a special call for untouchability work and thinks further, that "there is no disciplined resistance left in him or her that the spirit of resistance is played out or even that there is no such thing as Civil resistance and that all resistance is necessarily uncivil or incivil" he or she should be at perfect liberty to reconsider the whole position. He suggests that if these doubts as to what course they should follow are general among Congressmen they should meet and confer together. In order that such

a meeting may come off or be attended with decisive results, it is obvious that the leaders, as well as the rank file who are now in jail should be able to take part in its deliberations. It is even more important that Gandhiji who feels that his position as a prisoner precludes him from speaking out his mind, should be enabled to guide these deliberations with the fullest knowledge of facts and altogether untrammelled by restrictions of any kind. The cause of the removal of untouchability as well as the urgent need, felt on all hands, for the turning of a new and brighter page in the history of Indo-British co-operation makes it incumbent on the Government to do the big thing in time, so that it may not be said that one more golden opportunity was lost.

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February 14, 1933. (Hindu - 1933)

The need for Conciliation.

Replying to a question in the Commons, Sir Samuel Hoare is reported to have stated that "there could be no question of Mr. Gandhi or other Civil disobedience prisoners being released until the Government had convincing reasons to believe that their release would not be followed by the revival of Civil disobedience." His position, thus stated, would seem to be somewhat different from that of the Government of India, who according to Sir Hamy Haig, "must have a clear assurance that the release would not be followed by a recrudescence of Civil disobedience." Unlike the Government of India, Sir Samuel Hoare does not, if we understand him aright, ask for an undertaking from Gandhi or other Congress leaders that Civil disobedience would be definitely abandoned. If this is correct, he must be certainly credited with a sherewder sense of political realities than the Government at Delhi. But if, as he admitted in his closing speech at the London Conference, he was impressed by the increasing evidences of goodwill and desire for co-operation that he found on all hands why should be hesitate to act on the strength of these evidences as he promised to do at the time? Apparently he relies on the men on the spot to advise him whether he should regard these evidences as convincing reasons for holding that a general goal delivery would not be fraught with serious consequences.

That there is justification for holding that such reasons exist in abundance is shown by the Viceroy's declaration that "there has been a most satisfactory change in the political outlook throughout the whole of the country" But though Lord Willingdon claimed that the efforts of the leaders of the Civil disobedience movement "to revive enthusiasm meet with little success", he showed no willingness to utilise the admitted improvement in the political situation to inaugurate a concilliatory policy and secure the Co-operation of Congressmen. His speech on the contrary showed a desire amounting to an obsession on the parts of the Government of India to reduce the Congress to a mood of tearful penitence. A much surer guide for Samuel Hoare and the Government is the countrywide demand for the immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen which is supported by every progressive party. This demand has been put forward on the specific ground that it is essential to create a favourable atmosphere for the hammering out and the introduction of the new Constitution. Even Sir Henry Haig does not underrate the value of of such an atmosphere as was shown by his reply to a question in the Assembly that he hoped that the detention of Gandhiji and other prisoners would not tend to an unfavourable discussion of the Constitution proposals. Sir Samuel Hoare himself, when asked in Parliament whether it was not likely "that Indians would be more ready to welcome the progress that had been made if their leader were released."

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gave a carefully non-commital answer which suggests that he recognises there is something in that. To any one who is at all acquainted with the Indian situation the wisdom of adopting a policy of conciliation at this juncture is obvious. The immediate release of political prisoners as a preliminary to an earnest endeavour to secure the co-operation of all sections of opinion in the further stages of framing a constitution is bound to have a pacifying effect the advantages of which would far outweigh the inconvenience that may possibly result from a sporadic disturbance here and there.

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February 17, 1933.

THE GANDHI-WILLINGDON CORRESPONDENCE.

Recalled.

The Government of India have issued a communique reproducing parts of the correspondence that passed between them and Gandhiji on the eve of his arrest in January last year. The object of the communique is apparently both justify the course of action they then adopted and to contest certain grounds upon which the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen is now urged by all parties in India. But there could be no thorough if mute exposure of the utter untenability of their position than the editing to which they have thought it necessary to submit the parts of the correspondence which they have chosen for republication. We reproduce elsewhere the entire paragraphs of which the Governor have now put forward an expurgated version to refresh the public memory. The complete text as we have published it, will bring out very clearly the justice of the contention which has been upheld not only by practically every section of Indian opinion but also by well-informed Englishmen--that the breakdown of the relations that had obtained at the second ~~R.T.C~~ Round Table Conference between the Government and the Congress as represented by Gandhiji was precipitated by the Viceroy's absolute refusal to grant Gandhiji an unconditional interview. The Government communique altogether omits the crucial

passage in His Excellency's letter to Gandhiji dated 31st December 1931 which intimated this refusal. It also omits the other passage in which Lord Willingdon testified to the friendly and helpful attitude displayed by Gandhiji at the Round Table Conference.. He stated that he was unwilling to believe, "in the light of the attitude which you have observed there," that Gandhiji could be responsible for or approve of the activities of the Congress in the provinces in question during his absence in London. This Express testimony to Gandhiji's attitude made it all the more difficult for the public to understand why the Government should have turned down his offer to steady the situation in the provinces at firsthand with the co-operation of the authorities and to advise the Congress to revise its attitude if he found that it had been misled. This important passage again does not find a place in the Government's extracts from Gandhiji's letter. The manner in which the Government have tried to put themselves right with public opinion inevitably suggests that they are by no means so sure in the restrospect of the wisdom of their action in order to Gandhiji's request for an interview. The better way would be to say so frankly and effect a reversal of policy which would really put them right with public opinion.

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February 17, 1933.

Leader

Two points were emphasised in the speeches made at the public meeting of the citizens of Madras to consider the situation arising out of the third Round Table Conference. One was and to this speaker after speaker draw pointed attention--that, unless Gandhiji and his fellow congressmen were released, it was impossible to produce an atmosphere favourable for the consideration of the Governments' reform proposals. The other point was that the scheme of "responsible Government" outlined at the conclusion of the Round Table Conference was hedged round with too many "Safeguards" to make the transfer of power to the people a reality. As to how these could be modified so as to make them acceptable to the country was a matter for discussion between the Government's and peoples representatives. Here again the fact emerges that such discussions to be really fruitful must be participated in by congressmen whose release becomes essential from that point of view as well. We wish the Government realised the full significant of yesterday's meeting and its decisions. It was a gathering representative of our parties and communities. It was presided over by the Right Honourable V.S. Srinivasa Sastri and the principle resolution was sponsored by Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Iyer--both men who have grown grey in the service of the country and whose opinion the Government cannot afford to dismiss as that

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of mere agitators. Unfortunately however diehards counsels seem to prevail with the Government for the time being. If the authorities are wise, however they should have no difficulty in seeing that to accept advice of Mr. Churchill and his Satellites of the kind tendered at Essex yesterday would be to count certain trouble.

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May 9, 1933.

Gandhiji's Release.

At this supreme aware of crisis we would make an earnest appeal to our countrymen. At no time was the need for unity, not only within the ranks of the congress, but among all sections of progressive opinion, more urgent then it is to-day. Non-Congress nationalists who are as keen on the satisfaction of that demand as is the Congress, should realise that this will be possible only if the country presents a solid front to its opponents. If Mahatmaji's fast succeeds in uniting it in a dynamic endeavour to secure its birth right, it will not have been in vain. Let us pray that God in His infinite mercy will sustain him in his travail and spare him yet to lead us on to Victory.

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June 21, 1933.

<u>Release of Political Prisoners</u>.

The statement on the question of the release of political prisoners which the Associated Press has taken pains to broadcast from Simla is significant in that it bears the impress of official inspiration. We are told therein, obviously in reply to the plea that Congress leaders should be released in order to enable the Congress to consider the new situation and revise the policy of the Congress in the light there of, that nine out of the fifteen members of the Congress working Committee are free and that four more are ~~fill~~ free in certain areas. The suggestion here apparently is that there is nothing to prevent the Committee from meeting and taking a decision on the issue if the free members, most of whom enjoy the confidence of the Congress, choose to do so. This statement is welcome in so far as it indicates that Simla officialdom recognises that the Congress organisation should be given an opportunity to take stock of the present situation and revise its programme so as to suit the altered conditions. What we should ask Simla to do now is to consider whether the opportunity provided is really a fair one. That it will not be right to ask the working Committee to discuss the issue with the bare ~~qua~~ quorum necessary to enable it to meet is a proposition implicit in the statement itself for it essays to show that the ~~fill~~ free members are qualitalively as well as quantitatively ample to ebable the Committee to give an

authoritative decision. But will it be fair to ask the Committee to treat the counsels of men like Messrs. Vallabhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad as valueless or unncessary? Justice demands that the Congress should be given an opportunity to meet and discuss the development; it logically follows that the release of Congressmen is obligatory on the part of the Government. It is significant that Mr. J.A. Spender, who would not dictate to the Government as to what they should do in particular circumstances regarding release of prisoners, anticipates that the quieter conditions now obtaining in India will enable the Government very shortly to open the prison doors. Will the Government ponder over Mr. Spender's statement? It is really a gentle hint that the Government have no shred of justification for any longer refusing to undertake a comprehensive gaol delivery.

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July 24, 1933.

The Indian Problem in South Africa.

We are not at all surprised that Colonial born Indians in Natal are strongly opposed to the inquiry which has just been instituted to fiqnd out the suitabilities of other countries for settlement by Indians in South Africa. From the cable sent to us by our South African correspondent it will be seen that a mass meeting of colonial born Indians rejected the congress decision to send a representative to the Committee of Inquiry. This inquiry is only a preliminary invèstigation expected to lead to the institution of the bigger enquiry recommended by the last Round Table Conference. We cannot say with any defniteness what the effect of this protest on the part of Indians would be. But it stands to reason that opposition by Colonial born Indians should be given its due weight by the authorities both in South Africa and in India. That community thinks not at all without justificaton that Indians are not wanted in South Africa that the white settlers want to drive them out by folloiwng a policy of pin pricks and that the indefensible policy followed in the matter of issuing trade licenses and legislation such as the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill are put into force in order to make the country as uncomfortable

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to the Indian community as possible. The scheme of repetriation emphemistically called the assisted emigration scheme, has been a failure though in recent months owing to want of work many more Indians have taken advantage of the scheme than would otherwise have been the case. These repatriated Indians have not found India to be a comfortable place to live in for various reasons. The idea therefore of the union Government is to make it possible, by the offer of subsidies or grants to induces, as many Indians as possible to leave the country. The opinion of the Indian community is divided on this question. From the beginning there has been in existence a school steadily opposed to the plan suggested by the Round Table Conference, of an inquiry for finding out suitable Colonies for Indians in South Africa; and "Indian opinion" has been the mouthpiece of this section. In its last issue it wrote "we do say that we cannot co-operate with the Government in its policy of exterminating the Indians as the only means of solving the Indian question. The real need is for a commission to inquire into the question whether the population of South Africa is congested and whether there cannot be found room in the whole of the Union to accommodate its Asiatic population, 80% of which is born in this country and the whole of which does not form even 3% of the total population of the union. Let an impartial commission report on this and should that report go against us there will be ~~shou~~ ample room for exploring other avenues" The majority of the Indian community were born in the Colony and they feel that they are entitled to the

rights and privileges enjoyed by the members of the other communities. They look upon South Africa as their home and the idea that they ~~to live~~ should be considered as aliens who have no right to live in that country is repugnant and they apparently desire to mark their supreme dissatisfaction with this inquiry by inducing the Congress not to have anything to do with it. It was in recognition of the fact that most of the Indians now in South Africa were born and bred up in that country that the first Round Table Conference in Cape Town stated in explicit terms that it was the duty of the union government to make themselves responsible for the welfare of the Indian community and initiate measures of uplift for their advance in education and enlightenment. As is well known precious little has been done to implement this uplift clause' while stern measures have been taken to repress them and make their lives quite unhappy. The assisted emigration scheme, we notice has also been condemned by a mass meeting of Indians. There is already a movement in Natal to start propaganda work in order to make it known that emigration to India has proved to be a dismal ~~farline~~ failure. The only fair and honest course for the Union Government in the circumstances to follow is to scrupulously keep their promise, abandon their policy of repression and induce Indians to be proud of their country by enabling them to improve themselves educationally and economically and thus raise their standard of life.

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August 11, 1933.

"An unjustified Prosecution

The action of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi in pressing the prosecution of Mr. Devadas Gandhi which has since ended in the latter being convicted and sentenced to 6 months simple imprisonment, even after Mr. Devadas had made it perfectly clear that his visit to Delhi had nothing to do with Civil disobedience, can only be described as the last word in bureaucratic perversity. The order served on Mr. Devadas at the Delhi Railway Station stated among other things that the Chief Commissioner was satisfied "That there are sufficient grounds for taking action under Section 3 of the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act 1922" It was on these grounds that Mr. Devadas was asked to quit Delhi forthwith. But immediately on the order being served on him, Mr. Devadas who was evidently totally unprepared for such a development, wrote to the Commission stating that he had absolutely no intention of participating in the Civil disobedience movement in Delhi and further explaining that he had come to Delhi "not with any intention of taking part in politics but with a view to settling down here in private life for a few months". He also emphasised that he had "decided not to take active part in the civil disobedience moment for some months". In fact he left no look for suspicion whatsoever. When the Delhi Commissioner found from this letter that the information on which he had based his order was totally unfounded it was plainly his duty to withdraw

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the order if his object in issuing it was to adopt preventive measures against the restarting of civil disobedience and not to humiliate a well known Congress leader by insisting upon implicit obedience to an executive ukase based upon thoroughly false premises. It will be remembered that in justifying the action taken by them against Gandhiji when he had declared his intention to march to pass the Bombay Government took the line that such action had been forced upon them by Gandhiji himself. Their communique stated "After the experience of 1930-31 and after the successful efforts made by the Government during the last 18 months to maintain peace and order it was impossible that the Government should allow Mr. Gandhi continuance of the liberty which he had obtained in May....In view of the fact that he had declared his intention of using this liberty to carry on a campaign subversive of law and order........The Government believe that they will have ample public support in the measures taken" If as we must suppose, these words indicate the policy which the Government want to be adopted throughout the country, the Delhi Commissioner's action was a gross violation of this policy; action such as this instead of helping to restore peace, is bound to embitter public feeling and make a return to normal conditions more than even difficult.

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September 6, 1933.

Leader

A demand for a public enquiry into the circumstances leading to the death of three prisoners in the Andamans as the result of a hunger strike is put forward in an influentially signed statement issued by the Andaman Prisoners' Relief League. The Home Member recently acknowledged in the Assembly that some of the grievances put forward by the Prisoners were on investigation found to be real. Nevertheless the authorities had allowed these unfortunate men to starve themselves for 45 days before giving them an assurance that legitimate grievances would be redressed. In defending this extraordinary attitude the Home Member put forward the plea that the Government could not allow themselves to be coerced by a threat of hunger strike. Questions were put to him for the purpose of showing that the prisoners had not adopted this drastic and painful course before exhausting all possibilities of getting the grievances remedied through the proper channels; between the Home Member did not give a direct anser to these questions. The Andaman Prisoners' Relief League is perfectly justified in demanding an enquiry into the whole matter so that the public may know how far justice was sacrificed to wrong ideas of prestige and the interest of the remaining prisoners in the Andamans by no means a small number, may be properly safeguarded. According to the Home Member, some of the grievances have been remedied which means that others remain to be tackled. The

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Government may of course not regard these as real grievancies at all.--Sir Henry Haig said as much--but the public has a right to know what they are. The Andamans as a penal settlement were condemned long ago by the Jails Committee and unless the Government can show much stronger reasons than they have been able to muster for reverting to a practice which they had agreed to relinguish the penal settlement in the Andamans should be given up once for all.

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October 17, 1933.

Leader

Not long ago a distinguished soldier in the person of General Hencker scouted the notion that India's political aspirations could be put down by force. His view is powerfully endorsed by an able retired civilian, Sir Hugh Mcpherson who acted for some time as Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Writing to "The Manchester Guardian" on the manifesto issued by half a dozen retired generals to the effect that India could be held by force Sir Hugh points out that the great majority of Governors and Members of Council who have worked and are working the Montford Reforms, are agreed that the only way of retaining India in the Empire is to fulfil Britain's pledges and not to reprudiate them as the Die hards suggest, "we cannot govern India if all her people are united against us", he observes . "Military force will be of little avail against a determined and universal boycott that paralysed alike commerce and the administration". The Diehard agitation in England, he shows, is calculated to produce ~~have~~ just this result, since if it succeeds Britain will have no friends left in India and he exposes the fallacy of the argument that the "dumb millions" are behind Britain. "The educated and politically minded classes may only be a fraction of the great Indian population but their importance is wholly disproportionate to their numbers," he points out, "and it would be a fatal mistake to underrate their all pervading influence with the masses" Sir Hugh is not misled by the present lull in

India
and the apparent lack of unity. He realises that "all sections of Indian political opinion, whether conservative, Liberal or Extremist are united in their demand for a recognition of India's right to equal status with the other members of the British Commonwealth", and he warns his countrymen that if Britain should go back on her pledges that would "raise a storm of trouble in India to which we should have to go back for a parallel of ~~meng~~ magnitude to 1857" Grave words these and Sir Hugh's countrymen will not set them aside lightly if they are wise.

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November 10, 1933.

Treatment of Political Prisoners.

It will have been noticed from the proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council which we have been publishing from day to day that there is considerable feeling in the minds of the public that the political prisoners in the jails in the Presidency are not being accorded the treatment to which they are entitled. Some of the grievances relate to the arrangements made to satisfy their elementary wants. It has been pointed out that political prisoners placed in "C" class are muddled together with ordinary criminals. We do not see why this should be so and why separate cells should not be provided for this class of prisoners,. It is true that the Government do not recog any special class of prisoners known as political prisoners, but they do recognise a distinction between casual offenders or men guilty of technical petty offences and hardened criminals. It is ~~are~~ one of the fundamental distinctions recognised in the penal code of every civilised country and at least from this point of view they should not hesitate to treat the Civil disobedience prisoners as a class separate from men guilty of heinous crimes involving moral turpitude. Separate as well as sufficient accommodation should therefore be provided for this class of prisoners. Anot grievance is that ~~latrine~~ Latrine arrangements are unsatisfactory. This is stated to be the case in the very institution

which one would think ought to provide a model for jails in the districts. If latrine arrangements are bad in the Madras Penitentiary one fears that they might not be better in the Mofussil areas. Then again there has been a good deal of trouble over the classification of prisoners. If Mr. Raja gopalachari could not be placed in A class, we do not know who will be entitled to it and yet we are told that he has provisionally been placed in the A class. "The question of the confirmation of the classificatio we are told, "is under the consideration of the Govern ment". It is absurd that anybody, least of all a responsible Government should pretend that there can be anything requiring consideration much less prolonge consideration, on this question; yet the Law Member had such an answer put in cold print. Surely it is no compliment to the quickness of grasp and despatch of business in the Department concerned to say that o 3 months have not been sufficient to dispose of so easy a question. That the working of the rule relati to classification has been fruitful of endless anamal and grossest kinds of injustice is a notorious fact. Prisoners who when they served a ~~verum~~ term of sentence in connection with the earlier civil disobedience movement had been placed in the B class, have now been relegated to the C class though nothing has occurred in the interval of 2 years to justify this step. Now as reg the treatment accorded to prisoners there are, there again, a good many complaints. The diet arrangem have been felt to be unsatisfactory, especially in reg to the supply of buttermilk and such other simple needs. The prisoners we have been told, are not given a weekly oil-bath to which all of them are accustomed. The

practice is hygienic and its observance will have contributed to improving health conditions in the jails. It is time that the Government and more than they, the Superintendents--realised that the betterment of food, shelter and distribution of work in accordance with the ability or fitness or the convict will conduce not only to better discipline in the jail but also to better order and increased economy. Far from recognising this, there appears to be a tendency on the part of Superintendents to assign work to prisoners, not that they might do their best to contribute to their maintenance but as a method of punishment. If this idea of punishment was not in the minds of Superintendents we do not see why they should have compelled men like Mr. A.K. Gopalan Nambiar to work in the oil mill. Allegations have been made that men like him who are ill and medically unfit to work were assigned hard labour and when they hesitated to work, they were beaten and otherwise ill-treated. The Government deny that they were ill-treated and the defence offered for having asked the prisoners to work the oil mill was that the jail Manual permitted the assignment of such work! It is manifestly absurd to ask a man to do a work for which he is not fitted when, by alloting to him some other work to which he is accustomed, better work might be got out of him and yet Superintendents seem to be persistent in giving the wrong kind of work to prisoners. This may be in accord with the letter of the jail Manual, but undoubtedly it gravely offends the spirit of it. Another wrong practice seems to be that of transforming prisoners frequently from one jail to another.

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This certainly is conducive neither to discipline not to economy. Penal transfers--there seems to be such in not a few cases--are calculated to defeat the very purpose they are meant to subserve while undoubtedly adding to the burden on the tax payer. It is regrettable that the answers which the Law Member gave in regard to these questions failed to meet the points raised. They were contred in the usual general terms and did not show any anxiety on the part of the Government to do justice either by the Prisoners or by the tax payer. We trust, however that Government will pay earnest attention to these grievances. They should remember that what was desired in the questions was not the grant of any concessions to the prisoners but the better observance of the very rules which the Government have laid down for the guidance of Superintendents.

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December 2, 1933.

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Leader

The Bombay Government's action in respect of Mrs, Gandhi is certainly highhanded. Mrs. Gandhi and Miss Maniben Patel were arrested for refusing to obey an order of the District Magistrate of ~~Kaira~~ Kana issued under the emergency powers Act, requiring that they should immediately leave the Kana district. Miss Maniben Patel was placed before the first class Magistrare at ~~Kaira~~ Kana and sentenced to 15 months rigorous imprisonment. As regards Mrs. Gandhi, we are told that she will not be brought up for trial but the order suspending her previous sentence has been cancelled and that she will have to serve the remainder of the term. Mrs. Gandhi was released, it will be remembered, when Mahatmaji commenced his 21 days fast when the Government suspended the sentence, there was no hint that they had reserved to themselves the right to "cancel their order" They have chosen now not to produce her before a Court of law. By cancelling the suspension order and sending her back to prison, they have given to public the clear impression that the reason for their doing so was their conclusion that she had broken the law, though they would not put the case before the Court. The Government may be within their rights in taking the course they have done but surely champions of law and order ought not to give ground for the suspicion that they are fighting shy of the Courts.

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F. No. 26.

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March 5, 1934. (Hindu)

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Leader

The condition of Mr. Obeidullah Khan, nephew of the "Frontier Gandhi" who is on hunger strike in Multan Jail, is admitted to be serious by the Frontier Government. Nevertheless the latter in a communique which we published yesterday announce that they have no intention of releasing the prisoner who they contend, seeks to "enforce his will on the authorities by resorting to hunger strikes". The Government may have had their own reasons for transfering him to a jail outside the Frontier province. But surely there is no reason why they should refuse to sanction his transfer to Sialkot jail, which is all that Mr. Oberidullah desires. The Government's attitude is the more surprising since they themselves state that it was intended to send him back to Sialkot on the approach of summer. The Government will be taking a heavy responsibility on themselves if they continue to keep Mr. Obeidullah in Multan Jail. We trust the Government will see the wisdom of revising their decision before it is too late.

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March 8, 1934.

Indian Community in South Africa.

Mr. Fielman Roos who, after an adventurous political career has joined the fusion party led by General Hertzog and General Smuts, has recommended his campaign against the Indian community in South Africa. Speaking the other day at Pretoria, he advocated the boycott of Indian traders who in his opinion, "should be allowed to trade with their our people only". He further denounced the Agent for India for aiming, the grievancies of the members of his community. "If these "ambassadors" of India had any complaint to make" he is reported to have said, "they should do it to the Government and not in the Public". The Agent occupies a peculiar position; he is not merely an official of the Government of India but a spokesman of his community whose task is to represent the grevances of Indians to the Government and try to bring about a change of heart on the part of the European electors. In passing we may remark that the fact that Mr. Roos is attacking the Agent for India shows how hard Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh is working for his people; there is the more reason why they should judge him generously.

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March 19, 1934.

Treatment of Prisoners.

The treatment of Prisoners placed in categories "A" and "B" appears to have been discussed at length at the recent conference of Inspector General of Prisons. The conference was for accomodating superior class prisoners in separate enclosures in the ordinary jails and did not favour separate jails being alloted to them. But the conference was for grouping these prisoners into sections, to facilitate "control" over them. In the interests of "discipline" it was urged that the Inspector-General of Prisons should be authorised to place "A" and "B" class prisoners in a ~~authorised~~ lower division subject to a maximum period of 3 months for breaches of the jail rules. Is it that the delegates to the conference are not satisfied with the way in which the Local Governments have exercised the powers vested in them in respect of classification of the prisoners? As for dealing with hunger strikes, the conference was in favour of strong steps being taken. The hunger strikers should be segregated and whipping should be resorted to. Another suggestion made was that food should not be offered to the delinquents. The conference in fact urged that food should not be cooked for them unless they notified their desire to break their strike. If the Inspector-General were to have their way, jail medical officers would be given

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full discretion to decide when to commence the artificial feeding of a hunger striker and when to desist from it. Hunger strikes should be discouraged but the remedy suggested by the conference seems to be worse than the disease. The Conference was in favour of restricting the number of visits to jails by non-official visitors and it considered that their powers were "too exhaustive" one would have thought that the non-official visitors ought to be invested with more powers than they possess now to establish public confidence in the administration of jails but this considerati n did not evidently weigh with the Conference.

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April 16, 1934.

Mr. Baldwin on Indian Policy

Mr. Baldwin's observations on conservative policy on India at the annual meeting of the Bewdley Unionist Association are by no means calculated to ease the political situation in this country. It is true that he has not promised to do all that the Die-hards want that he should. He assured the audience that an opportunity to discuss the select committee Report would be given to them which discussion would incidentally enable the Government to ascertain the party views on the subject. Mr. Baldwin stated that there was no unanimity of opinion in the parties regarding the White paper, that there were honest differences of opinion but at the sometime that so far as he was concerned" he would do his utmost to prevent the differences of opinion being exacerbated and fomented and would endeavour so to lead the party that when the India question was settled, the party, might be able to enter the next fight two years hence united and with its fighting spirit undiminished" It is in regard to the interpretation of this later statement that there will be difficulty felt by the public. On the one hand it suggests that the Government may not be prepared to go so far in modifying the White paper plan as the Diehards want them to do. On the other hand it shows that the National Government are prepared to make concessions which will be such as will preserve party unity or to use the words of the member of the party who moved the resolution of confidence in the

leader, prevent "defections from the party" which in the obsence of a reassuming statement from the leader, "were more likely to increase than decrease". What exact direction is in which the Government are prepared to modify their scheme and the extent to which they would go are matters on which Mr. Baldwin was not prepared to throw any light. But two facts are clear. One is that if the Diehards successfully insist on what they regard as their minimum demands, then there could be no reform whatsoever and the White paper plan would stand scrapped. What the Diehard demands are may be gathered from the interview published elsewhere which Mr. Michael Beaumount conservative M.P. who came to India a few months ago with two colleagues with a view to studying Indian conditions, gave to a representative of the Associated press. All that Mr. Beaumount learnt in India during his 3 months stay only confirmed him in his belief that "democracy was of no use to India and that people like him who were opposed to the white paper scheme would oppose it tooth and nail". In particular he stated catigarically that there was a strong body of conservative opinion in England which was opposed especially to the previsions regarding law and order. Grant of Central responsibility is another proposal to which the section of the Tories of which Mr. Beaumount was a representative is bitterly opposed. It must be easy for Mr. Baldwin to recognise that if the Government conceded these two points, they would have surrendered to the Diehards all along the line. The point that arises for consideration of the National Government is: Does their

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duty lie in seeking to do justice by India or in placating blind opponents of India's freedom and progress? His Majesty's Government have time and again proclaimed that their policy in India was to make a Dominion of India. It has been proclaimed on behalf of the National Government that their policy was the grant to India and self Government with safeguards. Indian opinion it is well known, is not satisfied that even the white paper plan goes so far as is necessary to give effect to this policy. There is on the other hand profound and widespread discontent in India that the provisions regarding safeguards in the white paper are such as might nullify the provisions regarding the self-Government.

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May 4, 1934.

Ranchi Resolutions.

The Ranchi Conference was swayed by two dominant motives--to preserve Congress unity interest while giving a new orientation to Congress policy and to reassent the right of the nation to shape her own destiny. There was general and grateful recognition on the part of the prime movers in the cause of revival of the Swaraj party, of the wholly cordial and positive co-operation that was forthcoming from what has hitherto been recognised as the "no change" section of the Congress and there is no doubt that in this respect the new Swaraj Party has been more fottunate that its prececessor. That the congress should be able to speak with one voice and should be prepared to throw itself wholeheartedly and without reserve into the national struggle in so far as it is carried on within the legislature is a great gain, since in the present peculiar circumstances the legislature, however unsatisfactory it may be otherwise, does offer a vantage point from which reaction may be fought with its own weapons and if not failed, at least kept at way. But in order that that fight may be to a victorious conclusion it is essential that the unity sought should not be merely unity within the congress fold itself but a unity that comphrehends all progressive elements in the country. Practically every speaker important at the Ranchi Conference yesterday emphasised the need for such a

comprehensive and live unity. Even more significant is the decision to postpone a verdict on the communal Award pending the summoning of a Constituent Assembly for that reveals a desire not to make the task of bringing about unity more difficult by introducing a new element of discord.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai moving the resolution regarding the white paper explained that it "aimed at creating a common platform for the Indian People" Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar put it some what differently when he said, in the course of an interview he gave to the press, "At present the single aim of every patriot in India should be to tell that Government that the Congress commands the confidence of the people in spite of all that has been done by the Government to break its prestige and divide the people among themselves. "In other words while the issue put in formal terms before the electorate will be the rejection of the white paper, what will be really asked of it will be a vote of confidence in the Congress--neither more nor less. The White paper it is stated, is to be singled out as the target of attack because firstly it is a negation of the National Demand put forward by Gandhiji at the Round Table Conference and Secondly it is the result of the mental attitude on the part of the ruling power that would deny the right of self determination to the ruled. In this connection it is interesting to note that though questions were asked as to what exactly the National Demand presented by Gandhiji at the Round Table Conference was, there seems to have

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been no attempt to answer them categorically. We may therefore remind our readers of what happened at the Round Table Conference. Gandhiji at the very first meeting of the Federal structure sub-committee, referred to the mandate given him by the Karachi Congress which defined the Congress goal of Purna Swaraj to be such that it would "give the national control over the Army, external Affairs Finance, fiscal and economic policy....... provided however that the congress delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India" In the detailed discussion of the various subjects that followed Gandhiji elaborated the Congress view point and in the closing session of the Conference he expressed the disappointment at the failure of the Government to accept the Congress demands. At the same time in a memorable passage he made an earnest appeal for understanding. "You will find me always having the greatest spirit of compromise if I can but fire you with that spirit that is working in the Congress, namely that India must have real liberty, call it by any name you like" In short it was not a categorical National demand that he formulated, it was an earnest plea that he put forward for what he described as an equal and honourable partnership at will. This plea was rejected by the Government with results of which it is unnecessary to remind the reader. The right of self-determination to be exercised though a constituent Assembly which the Ranchi meeting has vigorously reiterated will viewed in due historical perspective, be thus seen to be the inevitable reactions

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to that contumelious rejection of Gandhiji's offer of co-operation both at the Round Table Conference and in India just before the beginning of the second Civil Disobedience campaign. The impression is strongly entrenched in the people's minds that the Government have in the past year or two been bent upon humiliating the nation by humiliating the Congress and it is not therefore surprising that the Ranchi Conference should have decided to secure the country's verdict on a policy which has so deeply offended national self-respect. The Government, the Manchester Guardian urges, should recognise the danger " of driving a politically active Congress into the arms of its own left wing". If the prospects of an honourable co-operation one not to be entirely ruled out, the Government must take note of the temper of the people and act quickly. The release of political prisoners, the removal of ban a Congress organisation, the relaxation of vexatious political disabilities in the matter of standing for elections--there are some of the obvious directions in which they must seek for means of easing a difficult situation.

Meanwhile we would urge that the Swarajists also have to walk circumspectly. We are glad to see that Dr. B.C. Roy exhorted them yesterday to remember that it was not sufficient merely to denounce the White Paper but that they must also put forward constructive proposals. This is necessary for 2 reasons. Since Gandhiji as we have said, did not present a categorical demand at the Rount Table Conference in the name of the Nation, it is necessary that such a Demand should now be

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put forward. The Ranchi resolution on white paper Suggests that this is the function of the constituent Assembly to be summoned. But it recognises that that Assembly would itself have to be "representative ~~Assembly~~ of all sections of opinion" In order that such a representative Assembly may be brought into being, it is first necessary to have a nucleus of agreement between all these sections of opinion on the main heads. Mere agreement on a negative basis such as the rejection of the White paper, will not supply such a necleus. For one thing there are many features in the white paper which have a sectional appeal, so that it is idle to expect general agreement on their rejection, at all events in the present state of communal dissention and other fissiparous tendencies. For another as we pointed out yesterday, there are already alternative proposals in the field which have secured a considerable measure of agreement among progressive schools or thought and it would be certainly unwise to discuss this proposal summanly as unworthy of attention Mr. Bulabhai Desai was very severe upon those who took part in the various Round Table Conference's--let it not be forgotten that Gandhiji himself is among the number but did it strike him, we wonder that such language, coming from him would not be particularly conducive to the promotion of that nation--wide unity which he apparently desires as much as we do? The Swaraj party is faced with a task of exceptional difficulty and delicacy, a task that calls for leadership of a very high order. There is in the Congress undoubtedly a vast deal of 1st class

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Parliamentary ability as well as statesmanship. But in order that these may be available to the nation in the sphere where ~~should be persuaded to overcome their reluctance to take~~ they are most urgently required today, leaders like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar should be persuaded to overcome their reluctance to take part in the work of the legislature as only so could the new orientation of Congress Policy, which they have intiated with courage and high mindedness, be brought to full fruition.

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June 7, 1934.

The Simla Communique.

The Simla Communique setting out the Government's decision, consequent on the change in Congress Policy effected at Patna reveals as was anticipated, a short sighted and illiberal outlook which must be souly disappointing to those who had hoped that at last a new and happier era was to be ushered in the communique begins by referring to Gandhiji's statement of April last which, it admits, has been "regarded by Public opinion generally as indicating a genuine intention to withdraw Civil Disobedience as the policy of the Congress", apparently, the Government of India are for the nonce in agreement with Public opinion since they go on to find corroboration of the genuineness of the Congress intention in the decision to contest the Assembly elections--"a course", they justly observe, "which is inconsistent with the continuance of unconstitutional methods of civil Disobedience". That movement, they note, has not only been formally discontinued, "as a practical policy, under the present conditions, it may be regarded as having already ceased to exist". The decision to lift the ban on Congress organisations, which they announce follows inevitably on such an admission--indeed the surprising thing is that the Government should have delayed so long in coming to that decision.

But the reservations, general and specific that hedge in their response to the changed policy of the

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Congress are so unnecessary and so thoroughly imbibed with a spirit of suspicion and distrust that they are bound to rob the response of much of its value. The Government want to impress on the public mind the fact that the special laws passed by the central and provincial Legislatures will remain in force. Further the removal of the ban on Congress organisations is itself declared to be conditional; the ban might be reimposed if the Congress or any of its branches pursued activities which were in prejudice of the law or "indicated any intention to revive civil disobedience in any form". The position of the Congress and its branches, in fact, will not be very different from that of a prisoner on parole. The ban on their lawful functioning will be lifted but the very comprehensive special laws which armed the executive with the power to impose, such a ban and to interfere in immemorable ways with the rights of the citizen including a free press and freedom of assoviation will remain in tact; the formidable machinery which these laws have set up for rule by executive discretion will be kept in full trim. Congress organisations and individual congressmen must walk under the shadow of the consciousness that this machinery may pounce upon and extinguish them if some mysterious individual secluded from the public gaze should come to the conclusion that their activities had an illegal tendency or were calculated to "harass"--a word as vague as it is comprehensive-- the Government's Partisans. If as one must suppose the Congress is in the eyes of the Government an errant political body coming back ~~lost~~ into the Constitutional fold, they have devised the strangest welcome for it.

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The country is on the eve of an election which is mor of more than ordinary significance. The Government should studiously refrain from doing or saying anything that might be regarded as queeming the pitch for any party; only so can the way be made clear for the unfettered expression of the popular will upon the major issues before the electorate. It is not fair to keep hanging over the head of one party-- which incidently comes for the first time into the election fray--a touring cloud of punitive legislation which may break at any moment. The threat of pains and penalties must hamper electioning campaign of Congress at every turn while its psychological effect, in the souring of temper and the aggravation of suspicion, must be incalculably injurions.

The retention of the special laws and the threat to enforce them will thus considerably detract from the value of the Government's gusture; and if one may judge from the pronouncements made by the highest authorities from time to time there is obsolutely no justification for their continued retention.

The Government's decision not to lift the ban on " revolutionary" organisations, "working in more or less close manifestation of the suspicion and distrust to which we have alluded as characterising their attitude towards those whose political opinions and activities have been umpalatable to them. The fact that Mr. Abdul Gaffor Khan's Red shirts organisations has been specifically condemned as unregenerate

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and not worthy of grace in the eyes of the Government, must make people somewhat sceptical as to the revolutionary" character of these movements which is advanced as justification for the continuance of the ban, for it will be remembered that Mr. Abdul Gaffor Khan has all along been detained without trial and no attempt has been made to convince the public that the Red shirts aimed at any kind of revolution; where as it has been claimed for them that they were scrupulously non-violent in their activities and pacific in their intentions. Gandhiji it will be remembered volunteered to examine the Government's charges against the Red Shirts if they would take him into their confidence but this Lord Willingdon refused to do with results which are now history.

Turning last to the question of political prisoners, it is a matter for exceeding regret that the Government should have chosen to interpret their obligations so narrowly. Prisoners convicted of offences connected with civil disobedience will be dealt with according to "the general policy of expediting the release " of such prisoners, and" "in the light of local conditions" as judged by local Governments. The case of state prisoners detained without a trial and prisoners like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who have been convicted for sedition and other allied offences, will thus be outside the purview of this decision. So long as these leaders remain in jail, it is difficult to imagine that the process of pacification can so much as begin. We can only ask the Goverment, adapting

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the memorable words which Sir Abdur Rahim used when he protested against the criminal Law Amendment Act, "Is this the way by which the Government seek co-operation? Is this the response which they give "to the notable gesture made by the Congress.?

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July 4, 1934.

Congress and the Elections.

We extend our hearty welcome to Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, General Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Board on his first visit to this province in connection with the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly. For the first time in its annals, the Congress as a body is contesting a legislative election and it is obviously unnecessary to emphasise the significance of this event. In adopting the policy of Council entry, the Congress is in a position to demonstrate in a practical way to the world at large and particularly to those who would delude themselves and others into the belief that Congress is a spent force, that the Congress is still the biggest and most influential political entity in the country and it commands the confidence of the people. It is now up to the country to do its part at the polls, as it has done in the past in other spheres of Congress activities. As the Premier Political organisation which judges every thing solely from the national stand point, the Congress is entitled to the suffrage of all the progressive elements in the country, irrespective of differencies in minor matters. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai will open the Congress election campaign in the Presidency in the course of a hurried tour in the South. We hope the Public of this Presidency will accord the fullest support to the campaign so as to ensure the success of the Congress Candidates.

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July 17, 1934.

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Release Pandit Nehru.

The reply which according to Reuter, Sir Samuel Hoare gave to a suggestion put forward in the House of Commons urging the remission of Pandit Jawaharlal's sentence will be received with disappointment in the country. The Secretary of State observed that the conviction of Pandit Jawaharlal was not in respect of any offence connected with the Civil Disobedience movement but for 3 seditions and inflamatory speeches and that therefore it was impossible to consider any remission of sentence in his case. For the Government to maintain this attitude is to betray extreme narrowness of outlook. The reply shows that the Government have failed to realise the significance of the great change that has come over the country since the 16th February last when Pandit Jawaharlal was sentenced to undergo 2 years simple imprisonment. The Congress has given up Civil disobedience and has embarked upon a policy of constitutional agitation and of contesting the elections to the legislatures. Mr. Vallabhai Patel's statement on his release showed how congressmen no matter what their personal inclinations are, are now devoting to the task of carrying on normal political activities, particularly of winning the elections. The release of Pandit Jawaharlal at this juncture would have enabled him to do his part in the new orientation of Congress Policy and incidently further to promote

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that atmosphere of political peace which is essential to the achievement of a lasting political settlement. It is to this end, we take it, that the Government have released Civil disobedience Prisoners. If they are fully to gain their objective, they should go further and release all political prisoners who have not been guilty of any offence involving moral turpitude or resort to violence. Sir Samuel's reply shows that the Government have not yet realised the urgent necessity of adopting a large hearted policy.

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August 13, 1934.

Leader

In releasing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to enable him to attend on his wife who is seriously ill, the authorities have acted with creditable promptitude. It is however stated that Panditji has been released only temporarily. If the step taken by the local authorities is not a prelude to permanent and re-conditional release it would argue a pedantic and triffling red tapism which one finds difficult to reconcile with the humanity that inspired the gesture. Mrs. Nehru's condition is reported to be such as to cause extreme anxiety; it will be scarcely doubted that the continued presence of her husband at her bedside would be essential not only for her recovery but also for his peace of mind. We cannot think that the authorities could be so obvious of these considerations. The larger question of the propriety or wisdom of the continued detention of Congressmen like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who have been convicted of sedition or who like Mr. Abdul Gaffar Khan have been detained under laws like Regulation III of 1818 without trial, has also got to be faced. Justice requires that those who lie under the imputation of having committed grave offences should have these offences brought home to them by due process of law or set at liberty. Nobody imagines that peace and order will be jeopardised by the release of these comparatively few leaders any more than they have been

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by the setting at liberty of those who had gone to jail for Civil disobedience. On the contrary, such a gesture, belated though it will be, will certainly help to case the political situation because no section of opinion in the country would then harbour the grievance that its voice had been muzzled. It is to be earnestly hoped that the powers that we may yet be persuaded to take the long view.

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December 13, 1934,

Indians in South Africa.

Now that the report on the Colonisation of Indians in South Africa submitted by the Committee appointed by the Union Government has been practically thrown on the scrap heap the question is what the Government intend to do to improve the conditions of living of the Indian community. Repatriation is now admittedly at an end and it does not appear to be possible for more Indians to be sent out of that country under the scheme of assisted immigration. If the Union Government now thinks of implementing its promise made in the first Round Table Conference at Cape Town, these Indians who remain in the country should be treated as permanent members of the population, whose uplift should be the special care of the Government. As Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa reminded the public in one of his addresses, whereas the Indian population of Natal had exceeded the Europeans by 35000 over two decades ago, there were at present 20,000 more Europeans than Indians, the reasons being that no more Indians are allowed to emigrate from India to South Africa and that the policy of repatriation has been busy at work. It must be remembered that not less than 80% of these Indians were born and bred in South Africa which is their home: yet they are still considered to be strangers, being denied not merely the elementary rights of citizenship but opportunities for rising to

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the full stature of their manhood. The tragedy of the situation is that their forefathers did not migrate to South Africa in their own initiative but went there at the request of the then Government in order to help exploit the resources of the country, and as Kunwar Sir Maharaj reminded his audience one of the reasons why Great Britain waged the Boer War was that Indian residents in Transvaal were ill-treated! Now that South Africa has become a Dominion intervention of Great Britain has to be ruled out and Indians have to look to the Union Government for their protection. But that Government is unable to do anything to further the interests of Indians because of the prevailing colour prejudice and trade jealousy.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh referring to the educational disabilities pointed out that Indians did not like the Europeans, enjoy the benefits of free and compulsory elementary education nor were there facilities for Secondary, technical and University education. Recently there has been a change for the better but there is no proper provision of buildings and there is deplorable lack of equipment. Recent events have shown that Police protection is very insufficient and as regards Sanitation the less said the better. Segregation of Indians in Post Offices and in railways is rampant and Indians are not allowed in the Cinemas and are denied other amenities. The right to grant licences for trading, vested with the Municipalities are in the hands of the whites who are inimically disposed to the development

of the Indian trade. Indians are further prevented from engaging themselves in skilled occupations which are monopolised by the White labourers. Indians enjoy absolutely no political rights. Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh in drawing attention to these obvious facts contrasted the policies followed by the British and French in respect of their Colonies. There was no colour line in the French Colonies and the inhabitants of the Colonies under French rule enjoyed all the rights and privileges of citizenship. South Africa had the blackest record in the world in respect of the treatment of natives and yet it was one of the European Pioneers of South Africa, Cecil Rhodes who had exhorted his countrymen to follow a policy of equal rights for every civilised man!

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F. No. 27 2890 238

January 21, 1935.

Lord Erskine on the Reforms.

His Excellency the Governor's address to the Madras Legislative Council which dealt mostly with the criticism provoked by the J.P.C. Report, reiterated Lord Erskine's personal resolve to make the forthcoming reforms a success so far as that could be done by the application of active goodwill to the task of securing the co-operation of all parties "to further the interests of the province and assist as far as in me lies the development of its constitutional future". Since the proposed constitution will lay exceptionally arduous responsibilities on the Governor, it is undoubtedly heartening thus to be assured in advance that the political aspiration of our province will be approached with sympathy and constitutional rights and privileges of the people will be interpreted in the most liberal spirit. But the burden of India's complaint against the reforms scheme is that with all the goodwill in the world, no Governor would find it possible to triumph altogether over the serious limitations inherent in the scheme which must make it impossible for him to function as the constitutional head of a democratic self-governing State. Lord Erskine observed that "in the Presidencies and provinces, full self-government is to be granted." And he contended on the analogy of the British Constitution that the special powers and safeguards could not be regarded as negativing responsible government, in every constitution. His Excellency said,

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"There must be always be some ultimate power that can come to the rescue if affairs of state become impossible. The safeguards will only come into play if matters are going radically wrong." But this interpretation of the future constitutional position in the provinces is not warranted by the select Committee Report. That document describes the safeguards as "a retention of power as substantial and as fully endorsed by the law as that vested by the constitution of the united States in the President as Commander-in-chief of the Army, but more extensive both in respect of their scope and in respect of the circumstances in which they can be brought into play." The Committee implicitly rule out the British analogy as in applicable when they remark, "In the special circumstances of India it is appropriate that this principle of executive independence (of legislature) should be reinforced in the Constitution by the conferment of special powers and responsibilities on the Governor as the head of the Provincial executive." Significantly enough they are careful to claim no more for the proposed constitution than that the safeguards are "not inconsistent with some form of responsible Government" Lord Erskine would seem to regard the special powers as intended solely to be used in the event of a stalemate or a break down. The Indian delegation that attended the committee were in fact prepared to admit the need for safeguards in the event of a breakdown or where a crisis is imminent. But the special powers provided in the Report go much further and constitute a much wider and more serious infraction of the rights of a responsible ministry. The committee defend them on the ground that "there must be an executive power

in each province which can step in and save the situation before it is too late because "nowhere in the world is there such frequent need for Courageous and prompt action as in India and no where is the penalty for hesitation and weakeness greater."

How vast is the concurrent and overriding power secured to the Governor under this pretext will be evident from the fact that the safeguards embrace not only these of a constitutional character which are inherent in the British constitution, for instance but also others that could be invoked in the name of protection of national minorities, services, European commercial interests, Indian States and so on., Besides conferring numerous legislative and discretionary powers on the Governor which cannot be paralled in the constitution of any free country. Lord Erskine argues that the change in England from autocracy to democracy did not come quickly " and in the present condition of India, there are very few who do not admit that some safeguards are necessary" But it must be plain to everyone that to admit that some safeguards in India's interests are necessary is a very different thing from maintaining that the proposed safeguards do not constitute a serious infraction of a self-Government.

Lord-~~Erskine~~ Erskine dealt with one of the major criticisms concerning the proposed changes in the centre by maintaining that the indirect election which the committee recommend is preferable to direct election and that this involves no question of principle but is merely a matter of convenience and administrative practicability. With an increase in the electorate which is bound to come, His Excellency argued direct election would not remain feasible, "and in starting

the Indian federation, it would seem preferable that its system of representation should remain constant and not have to be altered after the passage of few years. But this seems to overlook the committee's express recommendation that the federal Legislature should have the opportunity to raise the question of reverting to direct election should it wish to do so after some experience of indirect election. That apart, the system of representation does involve a principle, the abolition of direct election is strongly opposed in India because it would deprive the people of a potent aid to national solidantry and the maintenance of a national outlook. The administrative inconvenience that direct election may involve is compared to this, a very minor consideration and the nation may be expected to deal with it in due time.

Lastly Lord Erskine referring to the charge that England was not fulfilling her pledges to India by putting forth the J.P.C. Scheme, quoted in an attempt to refute this, Mr. Baldwin's statement that "the Government stood by all the pledges that had been given". But these words as we pointed out when they were uttered may mean anything. India must be satisfied by the definite provisions of the constitution that pledges are being kept in the latter and the spirit. The question has been asked insistently in this country whether the pledge of Dominion status for instance will find unequivocal statutory acknowledgement. The Government spokesmen have preserved a sphynx-like silence on the matter. We shall,

of course, know shortly whether the Bill contains any reference to this and if so in what terms. It is being persistently reported that with a view to lulling Indian suspicions, there might be incorporated in the Preamble that part of the Declaration of 1917 defining the aim of British Policy in India to be the attainment of responsible Government. We must say with all the earnestness at our command that such a device far from allaying Indians suspicious will doubtly accurate them, in view of the well-known attempt made some years ago by high authorities in India to interpret"responsible Government" as conferming a status inferior to that of the Dominions. The persistent avoidance of the term Dominion status and the use of "responsible Government" in its stead would confirm the impression that these responsible for the Government of Britain to-day were resolved not to implement the promise of Dominion Status made by a former British Government with the full authority of Parliament.

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Fenruary 23, 1935.

Indians in South Africa.

Are we anywhere near the time when full citizenship rights will be conceded to Indians in South Africa? In view of the harsh and unequitable measures that are being conceived by European traders in order to restrict the facilities for trade of their Indian rivals and the policy of pin pricks followed by the municipalities in regard to the grant of licences for trade, it appears to be unlikely that any move will be taken towards the enfranchisement of Indians at an early date. In the midst of this sickening oppression, it is very gratifying indeed that such a responsible person as the Mayor of Johannesburg should state as reported by our correspondent that he hoped that, as far as municipal rights were concerned, the same conditions will be applied to Indians as to other communities so that in time Indians may become full-fledged citizens of South Africa. If this generous expression of opinion represented the view of the general body of voters in that country, the Indian community has every reason to be hopeful about the future. There is however no evidence that this is the case. The fact is those who sympathise with Indian aspirations and desire to carry out the promises made in the first Round Table Conference at Cape Town are very few and they are either unwilling or unable for Political and other reasons, to force the Indian issue because if they do so, they are sure to un- unpopularity among the European voters. There are therefore

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only three methods by which European opinion can be influenced on Indian questions. One is that Political and other pressure should be brought to bear upon South Africa by India which is obviously impracticable so long as India is not master of her own destinies. Another method is that Indian in South Africa must follow such a policy in the face of denial of elementary rights as would compel the Government to listen to their grievances. On more than one occasion during the last few years a critical situation develpped owing to the recalcitrant attitude of the Government but fortunately the South African Parliament and the Government refrained from aggressive action, legislative and otherwise. The third way in which improvement in Indian conditions can possibly be brought about is the education of European voters.

The new agent for India in South Africa: Mr. Syed Raza Ali, in the course of a speech at Johannesburg, reported elsewhere, referred to the real difficulty in South Africa. He said what has been recognised by his predecessors in office that the most powerful of the statesmen of South Africa cannot possibly induce the European voters to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards Indian and he declared that it would be his duty to place Indian grievances before European rulers who constituted the real Government of the land. This is a task however difficult it may be has to be done by the Agent. But a heavy responsibility also lies upon the South African statesmen in this matter which it must be said, has not been adequately realised by them. General

Smuts in a message to the Congress invited its attention to the fact that its mother country that is India was faced with fateful issues and asked it to give a lead to Indian opinion in regard to the proposals for constitutional reforms. This advice is irrelevant. It is well known that General Smuts is a friend of India and has striven in the past to induce Great Britain to be generous in this matter. But so far as the Indian question in South Africa is concerned, he has been observing for a long time absolute silence. It was quite open to him to have added in his message that he for his part fully sympathised with the desire of Indians in South Africa to rise to the full status of their manhood and take part in civic and political affairs affecting that country. But he did not do so obviously because he is afraid of rousing opposition among Europeans. A very disturbing feature in the situation is the disunion among Indians to which more than one reference was made at the meeting of the South African Congress, United action is essential and the Congress and the Colonial born and settlers' Indian Association should coalesce and thus strengthen the congress in its fight in regard to land tenure, Social and economic disabilities, trading rights and Political franchise. Unless this consummation is brought about the agent for India can exercise very little influence and the European electorate which is already bitterly prejudiced against Indians, will not hesitate to avail itself of this disunion to adopt measures to drive Indians out of South Africa.

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April 8, 1935.

The By-Elections.

The by-election for the seat in the local Legislative Council vacated by the untimely death of Dr. Mallaya comes off tomorrow, it is to be hoped that the voters in the city of Madras will rally to the cause of the Congress as before and return the Congress candidate by a clear majority. Mrs. Lakshmipathi has a record of service and sacrifice to her credit which entitles her to the unstinted support of all who place national interests before communal and or sectional ends. If there was one lesson to be drawn from the uniform success of the Congress candidates and the phenomenal majorities they secured in the recent elections to the Assembly and by elections to the Legislative Council, it was surely that the enlightened voters of Madras have no use for the discredited communalism which is all the political capital that the party in office in this Presidency can boast. And yet this lesson has been so completely lost on the candidate whom the justice Party has after all, set up in opposition to the Congress, that he has come forward as the champion of 'Dravidan" interests political Dravidanism as we understand it from the disquisitions of its evangelists would seem to consist in shouting the formula, "The Communal G.O. is in danger". It is well known that the attention of the Congress has been deeid directed to securing the larger interests of the masses. It has always stood for justice and fair dealing for all

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sections of the community and has no need to interest itself in any arithmatical height or hand for the manipulation of jobs.) But the Justice Party's battle cry reveals the amazing poverty of its achievement--imagine being able to show nothing more to your credit after 15 years of labour in office than this poor, starving mouse! The Party which has been in office for 15 years will be judged by its practical record and not by grandiloquent promises which if one may judge from its past history, mean precisely nothing. In giving their verdict the voters of Madras city will not forget that the result of the recent no confidence motion in the Legislative Council has been sought to be interpreted as a triumph for the Ministry in face of the obviously unrepresentative character of the Council and its thoroughly ~~demenetr~~ demoralised condition. It is up to them deciswely to expose this pretence by returning the Congress candidate with a thumping majority. The voters of Chittoor have set them an excellent example, Mr. C.R. Reddi, whose walk over was a foregone conclusion will be cordially welcomed to the Legislative Council of which he was for many years a prominent member and where with his wide parliamentary knowledge and remarkable powers of debate he should be a tower of strength to the nationalist side.

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Indians Overseas.

April 17, 1935.

The Principle underlying the suggestion made by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association that there should be a separate Secretary to the Government of India to deal with questions relating to Indians overseas is unexceptionable. The matter has been engaging the attention of both the Public and the Government for a considerable time and we believe that if a separate department has not been established it is because the finances of the country have not permitted it. The Government of India have identified themselves with Indian Public opinion in most matters connected with the interests of Indian nationals abroad, and it is obvious therefore that the demand for a separate department is being put forwaard not because of any remissness on the part of the Government of India in making every possible effort to safeguard the interests of Indians overseas but because it is felt that this work of dealing with complicated questions concerning Indian emigrants is increasing and is bound to increase even more in the future. As pointed out by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association there have occurred 2 cases recently of important decisions being taken one by the Zanzibar Government and the other by the British Government in regard to the highlands in Kenya without the Government of India being even informed that such steps were in

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contemplation through these decisions deeply affected Indian nationals and have since formed the subject of vehement protests from India. It would of course be said that the existence of a separate department would not have possibly prevented the infliction of injustice on Indians in Zanzibar or in Kenya. But a vigilant Secretary whose sole duty is to be even on the alert in regard to questions affecting Indian overseas can act promptly and initiate suitable action in time to prevent mischief being done. [There is an Emigration Committee in the Central Legislative which such a department could keep constantly in touch with in order to elicit the views of its members without any loss of time and place before the Governor of India for their immediate consideration the line of policy which should be pursued. Though the Government of India have admittedly exhibited courage and statesmanship in dealing with the problems of Indians overseas, it is a matter for some regret that they have not yet laid down definite principles which should guide their emigration policy. We are now reaping the full consequences of past negligence in this important matters. All reasonable precautions should therefore be taken in order to ensure that Indians who emigrate to other countries are afforded proper treatment in the matter of wages, conditions of living, colonisation, etc. The trouble which Indians in Malaya and Ceylon are experiencing in regard to the ownership of land and other questions might have been avoided if conditions had been imposed on those desiring Indian labour, in regard to

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renumeration, citizenship rights and ownership of land. The Imperial Indian citizenship Association has also very properly pointed out that the Separation of Burma would considerably add to the number of Indian overseas who would require the protection of the Government of India. In these circumstances, the suggestion made by the Association for the establishment of a separate department is one which is worthy of careful consideration by the Public and by the Assembly. We hope that the Government of India will place definite proposals in this behalf before the Emigration Committee and the Indian Legislative Assembly.

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May 13, 1935.

Congress work in Tamil Nad.

(There will be widespread regret in the country that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar/s has not found it possible to reconsider his decision to retire from the Congress working Committee and the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee. The latter body at its meeting held at Chingleput yesterday in accepting his resignation, paid a fitting tribute to his long and valuable work as its President and expressed the hope that his health would improve rapidly and his retirement prove only temporary. It will assuredly not be easy to fill the tremendous void in our public life created by the withdrawal of a personality who in the public estimation, stands second only to Gandhiji among the nation's leaders.

Mr. Satyamurthi who succeeds Mr. Achariar as President of the Provincial Congress Committee will be assured of the cordial co-operation of all Congressmen in the Province in the onerous tasks that lie ahead.)

The next few months will be a peculiarly a strenous and testing time for the Congress. On the one hand a new constitution riddled with innumerable safeguards which much hamper progress at every turn will be inaugurated in the Provinces. On the other, reactionary and self-seeking elements which for more than 15 years have had a free field and made the most of it and are now greatly perturbed because of the decision of the Congress to play its part in the public life of the country on constitutional lines, may be expected to make a last

desperate effort to retain the positions of power and privilege they have won. "The United drive against reactionary and subservient politics", which the Tamil Nad Congress Committee urged at its meeting yesterday may well prove to be an essential preliminary to constructive work. We are glad to see that the important of the constructive work, the need for utilising to the full all opportunities that may present themselves for promoting it and the desirability of securing the co-operation of all men of goodwill, irrespective of party labels, were equally recognised at the important gatherings at Chingleput. (Dr. T.S. S. Rajan, presiding over the District Political Conference, clearly envisaged the possibility of and affirmed the prosperity of Congressmen taking office under the new Constitution, should they secure a majority in the Legislature "Then the Congress would show" he said, "how truly they served the nation". The Congress he added, "knew how to attain Swaraj and where to work for it. In this, the Indian and Provincial Legislatures could help them". It is essential therefore that the intervening period before the next elections should be utilised for the intensive political education of the public and the enrolment of as many Congress members as possible and vigilant efforts should be made to ensure that the electoral rolls that will be prepared under the

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new constitution include all who are qualified to vote. It is to be hoped that the new provincial Congress Committee will undertake this all important spadework with systematic thoroughness./

July 29, 1935.

The City Political Conference.

The speeches made and the resolutions passed at the Madras City political Conference which met at the Congress House yesterday throw light on the prevailing opinion among Congressmen in regard to more than one question of [illegible] interest. Mr. P.M. Adikesavalu Naicker, the Chairman of the Reception Committee laid emphasis in his address on the need to take up rural reconstruction work and spread the ideals of the Congress by strengthening its organisations. In regard to the Government of India Bill, he stated that though the Bill was unacceptable "they ought not to allow enemies of freedom to capture power" The speech which Mr. C.R. Reddi delivered as President is a spirited reply to those who denounce the Congress and constitutes a convincing exposition of Congress ideals. In reply to the question which every critic of the congress thinks it is his duty to ask what has the Congress done? Mr. C.R. Reddi referred to the great growth of public spirit all over the country and the progress of the Harijan Movement.

Mr. Reddi urged the need for the dissolution of the Local Legislative Council and after offering a word of advice to the socialists, referred to the possible danger or the Provincial Delimitation Committee adopting illiberal and objectionable principles. We dare say that his

observations on this subject will be duly considered by the authorities concerned. If he and other members of the Congress who had been invited to serve on the Madras Delimitation Committee had not felt themselves bound to keep away from the Committee, the public would have decidedly stood to gain. The conference expressed its definite view that the Madras Legislative Council should be dissolved forthwith, in view of the fact that it had outlived its normal period and was ~~heope heep~~ hopelessly ~~mis~~un representative. The fact that the Council is unrepresentative was one of the reasons urged by the Conference to postpone a~~way~~n comprehensive measure relating to Madras city Corporation. The present Bill came in for criticism for other reasons. The franchise provisions were not liberal sufficient powers were not vested in the Corporation and the financial provisions were inadequate and unsatisfactory. Among other resolutions adopted by the Conference were one welcoming the release of Mr. Saratchandra Bose and another urging the necessity for releasing these who are kept in custody without trial. The conference also directed its attention to the need for improving the condition of ryots in zamindari areas and for the remission of land revenue. The most important resolution passed was the demand for the removal of the ban on Congressman accepting Ministerial offices. Those who urged the removal of the ban pointed out that council entry by itself was not sufficient to keep out objectionable persons from position of power unless the Congress members

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in the Council when they were in large majority and were called upon to form a Ministry, agreed to accept office. They also argued that the Karachi Congress had laid down certain lines for constructive work in the Country, which could be carried on better and brought to formation more successfully if Congressmen seized all positions of advantage and got control over finance. It is significant of the trend of opinion among Congressmen today that the resolution was carried by the conference by a large majority.

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August 13, 1935.

Leader

In a letter from Kailsbad, Dr. Subash Chandra Bose gives expression to a complaint that has been made frequently both at Geneva and Delhi concerning the unfair way in which India has been treated by the League of Nations in the matter of representation of Indians on the League Secretariat and other departments. India's contribution to the League funds every year is 1,666,205 gold francks. But there are only 6 Indians actually employed at Geneva. Mr. Bose contrasts this state of affairs with the case of Britain whose nationals draw more in salary than their country pays to the upkeep of the League. We do not subscribe to the view that the posts held by Indians at Geneva should be in strict proportion to the contribution paid by this country but we certainly hold that Indian nationals have every right to equal treatment with others in respect to League services. If the League of Nations is, as it claim, really an international body keen on heating all nations impartially then it is time that India's grievances in this matter were redressed.

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23rd August, 1935.

Leader

Speaking at a meeting in Trichinopoly held under the auspices of his party organisation Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar offered an elaborate if somewhat confused justification of the Madras Corporation's rejections of the proposal to offer a civil address to Babu Rajendra Prasad. Mr. Mudaliar avowed his own responsibility for this decision and sought to defend it on the high ground of principle. Babu Rajendra Prasad was coming to Madras, he began by saying on a political Mission and he assumed that part of that mission would be "to criticise his party and run down that party". Surely leaders of a party which looses no opportunity of avowing its faith in democracy, should know better than to allow political differences to embitter the amenities of social intercourse, utilise the partnership and refuse civic honours to a countryman whose immense services to India--apart from his politics--even Mr. Mudaliar does not, we note deny. Is such a man to be deemed unworthy of honour by the Corporation because his politics are not acceptable to a particular section of the members? We ask because it is by no means clear from Mr. Mudaliar's speech. In one part of it he is reported to have said, "The Corporation would honour the congress leaders if they established to the satisfaction of the people that they were also sportsman even though the battle might be full of politics" We may safely leave it to the people to

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judge of the truth of Mr. Mudaliar's charge that Congressmen as a class are unsportsmanlike. But that statement is coupled with another that he wants every justicite to reject civic addresses "to men who came on political missions" Does that definition include Ministers of the Justice party but exclude leaders of the Congress? For District Boards and Municipalities in the part have presented innumerable addresses to justicite Ministers.

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9th September, 1935.

Lift the Ban.

Ever since the Congress decided upon the policy of Council entry, every section of non-congress opinion in the country--not least, that which mainly wonders what the Congress has done to arrogate to itself a position of primacy in Indian Politics--has been asking, with various degrees of solicitude or concern, what the Congress attitude would be towards the question of acceptance of office. In keeping its own counsel the Congress has been actuated by a desire to give all sections of opinion that our allegience to its ample time to discuss the matter in all its meanings. So that a considered and unanimous decision might be facilitated. But it is now generally recognised, as Mr. C.R. Reddi urged in his thoughtful and persuasive Presidential address at the Tinnevelly District Political Conference that the time is ripe for a decision. Mr. Reddi advanced cogent reasons against postponing a decision till after the elections are over. He pointed out that such a course would not be fair to the electorate and that the Congress appeal for the suffrage of the country would lose something of its drive unless the issue was clearly defined sufficiently early. Mr. Reddi expressed his personal conviction--and there is little doubt that it commands a very wide measure of agreement in the country and particularly in this province as the resolutions passed

at the various political conferences have abundantly shown that "if we have council entry at all we cannot have the ban on office". The logic of it is so plain that it does not require to be elaborated. The Congress had decided that for the time being at all events it must devote itself exclusively to constitutional methods of action. Having done this it will have to ask itself the question whether its objective will be gained "by nothing more positive" to use Mr. Reddi's words, "than sitting tight in permanent opposition" Obstruction for obstructions sake, will not succeed any more than it did when the Swarajists tried it under the Montford Reforms, for the simple reason that the Governors have simple reserve powers under the new constitution which would automatically come into operation even if the opposition succeeded in making Ministerial Government impossible.

But we would put the case for lifting the ban on office acceptance on more positive grounds. The Secret of the unique hold the Congress has over the people of this country is that it has never disdained to use all the opportunities available to it of furthering the cause of freedom and self-government and that its tactics have shown both skill and a subtle responsiveness to the promptings of the time spirit. It is of course the fashion in certain circles to dub the congress as "extremist" and to claim for themselves a monopoly of commonsense and statesmanship. . . . . The Congress not likely to succeed to this kind of mushy thinking. Mr. C.R. Reddi put the point of view that is likely to prevail when he said that the Congress should

go to the Council, neither for wrecking the Reforms nor for working them "for what they are worth" but for working them "for what we are worth". In other words, while making full use of such limited opportunities as the new constitution throws open for pursuing a policy of positive development and nation building, Congressmen in office need not bow, in a spirit of fatalistic acquiescence to the limitations inherent in it, this could ignoring them, press on with their programmes for self government in practice. If these programmes should be such as must commend them to all who are really anxious for India's welfare and if they should have the solid backing of the country, it will be a very serious responsibility indeed for Britain and her agents in India to oppose them by invoking the safeguards in the constitution.

It is this power to forge effective popular sanctions that distinguishes the Congress from the amorphous and ad-hoc groups and combinations, whether formed before or after the elections, which may come forward as self-styled champions of the Reforms when these groups declare that they will work the Reforms, they really mean that they will work them as they worked the present constitution, where their object however unexceptionable may laudable in itself it might be was thwarted by the fiat of higher authority, they in some cases no doubt protested with all due decorum and with various degrees of dignity but their protest was not heeded and they meekly resigned themselves to being thus ignored, instead of even resorting to the Constitutional course of offering resignations because

they had not the confidence that the country would support them to a man in fighting out the matters to the bitter end. "Success in this time of advance towards Swaraj". Mr. Reddi is therefore right in pointing out, "is dependent on one sovereign condition and that is that the party that is strong in Council must be stronger still in the country". Few sober murder ruan will deny that judged by this test there is no party in the country that can offer itself as a serious alternative to the Congress. By the same token the Congress by utilising office solely for the purpose of securing Swaraj in practice and enforcing the National Demand, will not be putting itself out of time with public sentiment. On the contrary the need for continuing the education of the public and for forging the national will into a mighty instrument will be as great as now, while the scope for it will widen. It is to be hoped that there will be an unmistakable and cordial response to Mr. Reddi's appeal to the All-India Congress Committee to give a lead and recommend the removal of the ban on office at its next meeting.

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October 30, 1935.

Indians in Zanzibar.

We are glad that the Zanzibar Indians are sending a deputation to India in order to apprise the Government of India and the Public of the real position of Indians in that country. We publish elsewhere a telegram from Delhi giving a short resume of the findings of the Commission appointed by the Government in Zanzibar to inquire into the questions of indebtedness and the views of the Zanzibar Government thereon. Zanzibar Papers which reached India about a week ago referred in some detail to this report. It does not appear from the telegram that the Government of India have received full particulars of the report and the views of the Zanzibar Government. The Government of India cannot of course come to any definite conclusions till they have perused all the papers and views of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar thereon. We hope that these papers will be published in India at a very early date in order to allow an opportunity to the Indian public to examine them.

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December 3, 1935.

Indians in South Africa.

We publish elsewhere an important statement issued by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi, who has come to India as a representative of the South African Indian National Congress, on the disabilities imposed on Indians by the Slums Act and the Asiatic Land Tenure Act. It will be remembered that the Swami inquired into the condition of the repatriated Indians in Madras and Calcutta and published a statement in South Africa which exposed the evils of the system. The Swami's descrpition of the way in which the slums Act is being used to inflict injury on the Indian community in Durban and of the wide and dangerous powers conferred on local authorities is lucid and we hope that the Government of India will lose no time in making strong representation to the Union Government. Indians have always appreciated the objects underlying the slums Act but their apprehension that the irresponsible and prejudiced municipal councils might abuse their powers has proved well founded. A deputation of the Congress waited on Mr. J.H. Hojmeyer, Minister of the Interior some time ago. Though he is generally sympathetic, he is stated to have assumed an unreasonable attitude on the question. The agent of the Government of India we trust will be instructed to send a full report on the question.

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December 11, 1935.

Situation in Zanzibar.

We hope that the Government of India will take speedy measures to apprise the Colonial office of the very serious situation which has arisen in Zanzibar/ So far as the Indian community is concerned. It will be remembered that the spokesman of the Government of India in the debate in the Legislative Assembly which took place on the 18th September last, expressed a desire for full information regarding the effect on Indians of the Decrees of the Government of Zanzibar. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, in a memorandum which it has submitted to the Government of India has brought together the facts which have come to its knowledge regarding the disabilities imposed on Indians by the Decrees in question Sir G.S. Bajpai told the Assembly that an assurance had been received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that all individual cases of hardship would be favourably considered with a view to affording relief. It would appear that so far no statement has been made by the Government of Zanzibar about this matter. Be that as it may, relief in individual cases will not meet the requirements of the ~~soli~~ situation. So far as the Land Alienation Deccree is concerned, the effect of the moratorium, the Association points out, has been to inflict heavy losses on Indians who as a consequence are unable to meet their liabilities. As many as 150 merchants have already had to close their business and leave Zanzibar for

good, while 80 others are still in Zanzibar, after winding up their business, waiting " for something to turn up". It would further appear that there have been 20 cases of insolvency among Indians, while several others respectable merchants are in imminent danger of being proceeded against in law in respect of their debts.

It is well known that restrictions on the disposal of land invariably lead to decline in the value of the property. Zanzibar has been no exception to this rule and we are told that Indian landholders have been put, owing to this face in value, to considerable loss. The clove exporters' Decrees have similarly brought about the ruin of many Indian merchants. The memorandum of the Association points out that the number of Indian exporters has declined from 31 to 3 owing to their inability to pay the heavy licence fee, while it has been found that 80 Indians, have expressed their inability to pay even their ordinary trade licence gee of Rs.100/- to Rs.300/- each. There were at least 30 Indian merchants who used to hold stocks of cloves before the Deccrees, but as a result of the monopoly given to the clove grower's Association there is not even a single Indian who holds such stock at present. It is inevitable that owing to the adverse effect of the Decrees on Indians, the normal trade of Zanzibar should suffer. The Association points out that the artificial control of the clove trade "has already been fatal to the economic normality of Zanzibar apart from its deplorable effect in depriving Indians in Zanzibar of his legitimate business. Those who understood the

danger of such unnatural bold experiments had no hesitation in foreseeing the futility of the effort from the very start". The situation is lead enough already, but it will become infinitely worse if the rumour has any foundation in fact that a Bill extending the moratorium to the end of July next year is in preparation.

As such we hope that the deputation from Zanzibar should be given full and early facilities to meet the Government of India in order to put their case before them.

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January 27 1936.

THE KARAKKUDI CONFERENCE.

The Tamil Nad Provincial Conference which met at Karai Kudi last week end was more intent on reviewing the work done in the Province in the past 12 months and consolidating the ganis that have been many and considerable than on giving a definite lead to public opinion on the purely political issues that comfront the country. It may be said at once that the Tamil Nad Congress Committee which has just relinquished office and its President Mr. Satyamurthi who has been reelected as the President for the Current year, are entitled to congratulate themselves on their active and continuous propaganda on behalf of the political and constructive aims of the Congress which has borne good fruit as will be seen from the record of membership of the Congress which has borne organisation, the striking success which has attended the contesting of elections to local bodies by congress representatives and the intimate contact established with the rural population, with the consequent quickening of the process of educating the masses. It is to be hoped that the new committee will be no less zealous and no less successful in carrying on this good work.

The question of acceptance of office by congressmen under the new constitution and the cognate question of promoting a united front among the progressive forces in the country are among the most important political issues that engage the attention of the public to day. But though the President of the Karaikudi Conferences, Mrs. Lakshmipati stated her own views on these subjects clearly, the conference avoided passing any resolutions on them. Mr, Satyamurthi's explanation of this lacuna, in an interview of which a report appears elsewhere, does not carry us very far. He said that it was well known that Congress opinion in South India was practically unanimous 'in favour either of acceptance of office under certain conditions or removal of the ban on office and vesting the discretion to accept offices in the provincial committee or committees concerned". In view of the fact that Congress opinion elsewhere has not as clearly expressed

itself so far one would have thought that the Tamil Nad Conference would have seen the need for reiterating the views held in this province on the question so as to give a definite lead to the Country. Mr. Satyamurthi's other argument that, as more than a year might elapse before the new constitution was introduced in provinces there was no hurry about the matter, is hardly more convincing. If it is felt to day that removal of the ban on office acceptance is needed in the interests of the country, there is no point in leaving it to be considered by a later session of the conference. Mr. Satyamurthi further urged that the question before the congress was "how to get the present unwanted constitution replaced at the earliest possible moment by an agreed constitution". Acceptance of office could be considered as a means to that end and the congress would give a proper lead " at the proper time". That time has apparently not yet arrived in this view. "The Lucknow congress will most probably consider the question", he said, "But even the Lucknow congress may decide to adjourn the question till conditions become clearer later in the year". We confess we are unable to see what conditions are referred to here. All that is generally desired in the country is that the positive ban an office acceptance should be lifted, with a view to enabling the Congress in the various provinces to concert measures in consultation and if possible with support of other progressive sections of opinion for securing an absolute majority in the legislatures on the basis of Constitutional action with a view to the realisation of the common goal. It is generally agreed that the removal of the ban would help in promoting such concert. It seems to us that the congress at its Lucknow session will do well to lift irrespective of the precise programme thatmay followed in regard to the inauguration of the new constitution in the provinces, a ban which was imposed in circumstances which were entirely different from these that confront the country to-day.

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January 29 1936.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The report of an interview he gave to pressman in England which appears elsewhere, will be read with special interest, coming as it does at this juncture. His views on the political situation in India and the constitution act are as we should expect clear cut. These Englishmen who have been want to contemplate with absolute self-complacence "the greatest piece of constitutional legislation of the century" will naturally be shocked to hear Pandit Jawaharlal describe it as "a trival affair". And they will be even more surprised on being told - contrary to the solomn declaration of the Joint Select committee that under the constitution Act Indians would have complete autonomy in the social and economy spheres - that it does not "touch a single problem of India" on the most vital side, the economic. But even they should find it difficult to rejute the logic of the pandit's contention that "the criminal Law Amendment Act hardly gave a good foundation for a generous measure of self-government to India". It would be some gain if British opinion could be made to realise that far from making any attempt to secure the goodwill without which not even the most satisfactory constitution could work, the policy of the powers that be has been such as to alienate and embitter public opinion in this country every way. Pandit Jawaharlal is therefore undoubtedly right in pointing out that the Congress is under no illusions about the new constitution. But he recognises as most other leaders do, that the shaping of the congress policy in the immediate future must be approached in a realistic spirit. ~~xxxxxx~~ In the course of the interview he pointed out that Congressmen could be no party to "working the constitution in the sense of acquiescing in it and that the only question was "how to oppose it best". He naturally refused to answer that question in advance of any decision the Congress might take about office acceptance, but his replies make it clear that he does not think there is anything in congress in taking up such an attitude towards the constitution and at the same time contesting the elections to the legislatures and even accepting office. Taking office in his view involves no question of principle ~~but is a matter of~~

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in his view involves no question of principle but is a matter of political tactics. This should serve to clear the air of the fog that at present envelops the discussion of this important question. It seems to us that Pandit Jawaharlala is undoubtedly might in in pointing out that there is not a single section of political feeling in India which accepts the constitution and of the congress should aim at putting up a fight on all fronts against the policy of reaction embodied in the Act, it would have no difficulty in securing the alliance of all progressive forces in the country.

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February 11 1936.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Not content with the measures, legislative and executive taken in the Transvaal and natal to make the position of Indians intolerable, European vested interests are putting forward demands for preventing what is called the peaceful penetration of Indians into localities inhabited by Europeans in the towns of these provinces. The United Municipal Executive of South Africa is taking up t the question of ousting Indians from the places which they occupy in these towns. The allegations is that Indians have acquired almost complete blocks of lands with two or three sheet frontages. There is a law empowering local authorities to regulate the class and use of buildings to be erected in towns. It is however stated that this law relates only to lands yet to be sold whichare unvariably situated in the outskirts of the towns. Where as it is pointed out 11th penetration process complained of is takingplace mainly in the best populated areas, and often in these most highly improved". Till now according to an official of the United Municipal executive Europeans have been striving to get legislative passed setting apart areas in which only Asiatics would be permitted to reside. But now they ask that legislative should be adopted authorising mean local authorities to set apart area s for occupation by Europeans only. This is segregation in another form. The gist of representation now made is that Indians would be prevented from owning lands or residing in areas inhabited by Europeans. A feature of the agitation is that Europeans in the cape province have so far refused to join in clamouring for this policy of exclusion because in their view local authorities now possess the necessary power to regulate the creation of buildings. The attitude of cape province is ascribed to the existence of the coloured vote in that area. To the Europeans in the other provinces, the abolition of this vote might appear to be a remedy for making cape province as anti-Indian as other provinces, but so far as the Indian community is concerned, the existence of the coloured vote is a gurantee that their representatives will hesitate to support any legislation which will work to their prejudice.

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April 21, 1936.

THE6CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Development in South Africa Indian Politics which have taken place during the last few weeks are calculated to emphasise the feeling of helplessness already prevalent in the mind of the Indian community. The Feetham commission as is well known, has made a ~~sense commission as is well known~~ series of recommendations in regard to exemptions to be granted to Indians in proclaimed areas in the Transvaal.Though the vicious principle underlying the Asiatic Land Tenure Act could not be altered by that commission their proposals were, it is generally believed intended to mitigate the hardship which that legislative was intended to inflict on Indians. The Union Government introduced a Bill to amend the Land Tenure Act to give effect to these proposals. A select Committee ~~give~~ has now been set up to bring in an amended ~~has now been set up to bring in an amended~~ bill the committee to have power to take evidence and call for papers. Indian opinion is as usual not unanimous in regard to the attitude which it should take towards this Bill. One section holds that the appointment of this Committee caste a slur on the Feetham Commission whose recommendations were the result of extensive inquiries. The congress however is of opinion that the community should appear before the select committee and demand that it should be conceded ~~the right and demand that it should be conceded~~ the right to hold property in exempted areas and to change aboue or business and that it should ask for safeguards against the power of municipalities to re refuse licences and seek other reliefs. It may be recollected that the Congress at one time held strong views in regard to the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and its co-operation with the Select Committee at this stage is resented on the ground that by that step the congress has committed itself to a policy directly opposed to that which it had laid for itself in the early stages of the controversy. The fact can not be gain said that the Asiatic Land Tenure Act is designed to segregate Indians and reduce the value of property held by them and even if all the recommendations of the Feetham Commission are adopted that Act is bound to do incalculable harm to Indians.

There are other grievancies which are no less serious in character. Anti-Indian prejudice and racial antipathy are still widespread. If the position of Indians in South Africa under the present dispensation is bad, it is bound to be infinitely worse under a republican regime for which the republican Nationalist Party led by Dr. Malan is carrying on an intensive propaganda. The programme and principles of this party favour territorial and political segregation of the natives and provide for separate political representation of coloured persons. The party further demands a definite scheme of Asiatic restriction and segregation so as to pretect Europeans and non-Europeans under the union from Asiatic competition. After this declaration in favour of the suppression of the rights of non-Europeans the party says that it "recognises the duty of the state to fight all-un-christian practices in the national to fight life. No wonder "Indian Opinion" asks: "Are we then to suppose that the principle of segregation of whites and nonwhites and of depriving a [illegible] section of the community of its god given rights is in keeping with christianity? The Bill then will need to be revised."

The point to note however is that the spirit of intense opposition to the uplift of the natives and coloured races is abroad and it would need all the resources of Indians to fight this unholy campaign. But are Indian United? The Congress became divided owing to its attitude towards the colonisation scheme an issue which is now quite dead-when the Indian colonial born and settlers' Association was started. Persistent and vigourous attempts were made to close up the ranks. Then the marriage of the present Agent General Syed Sir Raza Ali with a Hindu lady caused again a serious split in the congress resulting in the resignation of the Natal members of the South African Indian congress, while feelings haves been roused by this marriage natal the Transvaal and Cape sections of the Congress have taken up the correct attitude that disagreement with the Agent General over a step taken by him as a private individual should not be allowed man the united front which the Indian community must preserve if it is to safeguard its public rights

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public rightsopinion in India is also inclined to the view that the South African Congress should have show a better sense of perspective and has deprecated the extra ordinary action taken by a few of the office bearers of the congress. But while depehoring the attitude of these office bearers of and of that section of opinion for which they speak the fact that this incident has complicated on already serious situation and widened a cleavage which must prove disastrous to the community must be faced by all the Government of India the Agent General himself, and the Indian community who are equally concerned to avert it. Difficult as the question may be it should not be impossible to find a way out if all the parties kept in mind the paramount ~~wip~~ importance of avoiding split among the Indians in South Africa.

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May 14, 1936.

MEANINGLESS RED-TAPISM.

The Government are as anxious as every political party in the country that the electoral rolls should be as complete as possible. And yet by a strange irony, a vast deal of avoidable uncertainity and confusion have been introduced by the Government orders that have been issued from time to time laying down the procedure that should be followed in regard to the registering of these voters who can be enrolled only on application made by them. The period originally allowed for prosecuting applications and the facilities provided were very inadequate. When this fact was pressed on their attention in the press and elsewhere the Government extended the time limit (from 15th May to 31st May in Madras and to 20th June in the districts) and laid it down that it was not necessary for these claiming to be registered as voters by the literacy qualification to write out the application in the presence of the Registration officer and that it would suffice if they got village officers or government servants other than menials to certify to their literacy. This was in the circumstances as satisfactory an arrangement as possible. But the Government have since intimated that every application by a literate to be registered as a voter should be presented in person to the Registration officer or to one authorised to act as Registration officer. If this condition is to be insisted upon it is obvious that it will go far to neutralise the benefit of the extension of time for registration and the enlarging of the categories of officers authorised to certify literacy which the Government have ordered. It makes little difference to a voter whether he is asked to go to Ripon Buildings for writing out his application in the presence of an official there or for prosecuting it in person to another, in both cases the loss of time, the expense and the inconvenience generally involved are equally greater than most of them can be properly asked to face. In making arrangements in the mufassal for Registration officers and their deputies to proceed from place to place to receive

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the applications the Government seem to have in a measure recognised these difficulties. But in view of the limited time available even the provision of a perpatetic agency for receiving applications may prove far from satisfactory in the actual working as it will be manifestly impossible for the officers to visit every village. In big cities like Madras where all applicants are required to go to a particular place to present their applications the difficulties to which they will be put are bound to be far more serious permission to send applications singly or in batches and by ~~part~~ post or messanger would seem to be the obvious solution. The Government's objection to allowing this appears to be that it might encourage dishonesty. Frankly we fail to understand this argument Since all applications are to be certified by village officers of Government servants not below the rank of clerks, surely that ought to be enough to establish the bona-fides of the applicants. There is no point in insisting on personal prosecution, since the Registration officer, who in all probability will be a stronger to the locality and harrased by the need for receiving and disposing of hundreds of applications within a limited time. Cannot be expected in reason to exercise more effective Serutiny than the official who has certified to the literacy of the applicant. It seems to us that the insistence on personal presentation of applications is a piece of meaningless red-tapism which should be disp ~~disperused~~ dispensed with if the electoral rolls are to be made anything like complete.

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July 23, 1936.

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POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Babu Rajendra Pradad has done well in trying to focus public attention on the lot of Political prisoners in India. "There is no chance of the disappearance of or even a substantial reduction in the number of political prisoners, particularly when so many so called laws continue to restrict and destroy civil liberties". He says in his statement on the subject published in our issue of yesterday. Babu Rajendra Pradad subjects the working of the jail classification rules in relation to politica l prisoners to a dispassionate but scareling examination. After closely watching the operation of the rules for a period of nearly 6 years, he has come to the conclusion that generally speaking the lot of the majority of the political prisoners has not in any way been bettered by the introduction of the rules. Prisoners under the rules, are required to be classified as "A" "B" and "C" according to their status in life and mode of living. The majority of Satyagrahis were placed in the 3rd category during the two civil disobedience campaigns. According to prasad, of the prisoners confined in jail "c" . The lot of prisoners is in som some respects in and he supports the demand that all political prisoners should be put in a separate category and that present system of classification should be given up. The classification rules it will be remembered were introduced after the hunger strike of Jatin Das, which cast him his life. It was believed that the introduction of the rules would mark the dawn of a new erain prison administration in India. But 6 years working of the rules has not justified the expectations. The local Govennment were expected to interpret the rules in a liberal way but judging from the results, one can not but come to the conclusion that a re-examination of the position is necessary. There is an aspect of the matter which concerns political prisoners intimately and prasad has rightly devoted special attention to it in his statement. The political ppisoners are generally literate but the majority of them being included in category "C"are not

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allowed to read daily newspapers. Man does not live by bread alone and its sheer ~~anelty~~ cruelty to deprive political prisoners of the mental sustenance they need. Prasad also suggests that political prisoners should also be permitted "to read books to which no reasonable objection may be taken" His request that there should be uniformity about the practice followed in this respect is surely a very modest one. "Cases are known" he says, "where a book that has been allowed by the authorities in ~~are~~ one Prison has not been passed in another and great difficulty is experienced by prisoners in getting books ". Prasad suggests that it is better political prisoners are concentrated in ~~are~~ one prison in each province and that the ~~among every~~ arrangement would while tending to improve the prisoner's lot provided they are allowed to associate with ~~xxx~~ one another and are not segregated minimise administrative difficulties. We trust the proposal adumbrated by Prasad will receive due attention.

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July 27, 1936.

AN UNWANTED PARTY.

The formation of the peoples party which was inaugurated on saturday last was first mooted 2 months ago. A manifesto published about the middle of May observed that for a successful democracy "there must be at least two well organised and disciplined parties willing to work the constitution". The signatories avowed that they were aiming to satisfy this want though it was not quite clear whom they regarded as the other protogonist. In his speech on saturday last the Raja of Pithapuram, the leader of the new party said that a large number of people were dissatisfied both with the congress and the Justice Parties and further that the demand for a new party is insistent and widespread and comes from different parts of the province". A true explanation is perhaps to be found in the Rajah's statement that "we are about to get reforms of very great importance. These remarks contrast somewhat oddly with the round declaration of Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar, one of his principal Lieutants, that "the result of the deliberations of the first. Three R.T.C's was not only not an advance on the simon while willing to concede that "the Reforms now granted to us may not be perfect "is prepared "to work them to the best of our ability and demand a further instalment of better reforms" The Tories in England and their reactionary friends in India will no doubt acclaim his moderation and his pathetic faith in the progressive realisation of responsible self-Government. But few people in this country share either the Raja's view of the Reforms of his contentment with advance by stages. He may find it convenient to ignore the fundamental truth that such political advance as India has seemed is due to the efforts of the congress and make the comforting assumption that the safeguards would not have been imposed but for the activities of the congress.; but the Public knows better. And it will not look kindly upon any attempt on the part of a fortuitous collection of individuals, however worthy many of them may be to attract

attention to themselves by crying down the Congress. While it is undoubtedly necessary as we have repeatedly urged in these colemns, to keep out the reactionaries from the positions of power and vantage, the goal of Swaraj should mot be lost sight of for a moment should there be any relaxation of the effort to steal the people's will to accept nothing less than the fullest measure of self-government. A party, the emergence of which at this juncture is calculated to obscure the issues before the country must expect to receive short shrift at the hands of the electorate,.

The new party may no doubt be regarded as are of the symptoms of the general discontent in the Province against the communal regime of the part 15 of years which has been responsible for the extreme demonalisation of our public life. The Raja's statement that it will have no communal bias will be welcomed; though here again, it may be remarked that the leaders declaration is no easily reconciled with Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar's apo apologice for communal electorates which he would have as regard as merely recognising the existing of various communities and their rights! But there is no need for a new party to fight communalism as the Congress has all along set its face against every communal or sectional bindency. Nor does the programme of the new party which the Raja set our in some detail in his speech establish the necessity for yet another political organisation. In so far as its various Parts do not contradict each other this programme is just such another attempt as was made by the Justice party itself last year to steal the clothes of the congress. The people's party has neither the organisation nor the experience nor again the active support and goodwill of the people without whibh such programes are not worth the paper they are written on. One is amazed that with such slender credentials, a new party should have been launched on the eve of the elections. The Public would hardly be wrong if they looked upon it as a political gample. But it can not be over looked that the repeated postponement by the

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Congress of a definite declaration of its attitude towards office acceptance has also to some extent raised in continuant hopes in humble breasts. The earlier the congress makes it clear that it has no intention of allowing ad-hoc parties and other political mushrooms to play at self-Government the better it will be for the country.

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August 11, 1936.

INDICIPLINE IN CONGRESS.

The defeat of the official congress candidate for the Trichinopoly Municipal council Chairmanship reveals an unfortunate state of affairs in the working of the congress machinery in this Province. It is not the defeat itself but the circumstances of the defeat that are important. After a good deal of deliberation, the Tamil Nad Congress working committee taking into consideration local as well as the larger interests of the Congress party asa whole nominates a candidate to contest the election on behalf of the Congress. But at the time of election a prominent membe r of the Congress party springs a surprise by nominating another member among the Congress Committee for the presidentship and this latter is elected by a bare majority. A clear and flagrant breach of discipline thus occurs. Nor could it be provided that the brief statement that Dr. Rajan felt impelled to make to the council yesterday, could in any way mitigate the damage that action such as is bound to do to the morale of the organisation to which he owes allegience and his political psoition. He had every night to advise the Tamil Nad Congress Committee to leave the Presidential election to local adjustment, to convert the Committee it was clearly his duty to obey of his reference to the circumstances of his election to the Municipal Council was unless it be to claim that he had earned the right to flout the provincial working committee because forsooth, it hadalready been defied by the local committee. With due difference to Dr. Rajan, we must confess our amazement at the dictum that individuals in any well ordered political organisation could defy the party authority and at the same time claim to have added to the prestige of the party.

No organisation could hope to function for any length of time under such conditions. Far from his, "not being justifiedin taking any other attitude than to oppose the order of the workigg Committee" the proper course for Dr. Rajan would have been to implement the direction of the working committee and then resign his membership of the council if he felt his position to be untenable. There have been one or two instances before of such

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breaches of party discipline but coming as it does this time from a member of the Congress of Dr. Rajan's standing it is ~~bind~~ bound to have undesirable consequences even on the best organised political party that the Congress is accepted to be on all hands. Particularly is this the case at a time when the congress is preparing for a big trial of strength with the forces of reaction. ~~Refresh~~ Reprehensible as Dr. Rajan's attitude has been, we fail to appreciate the Strange reaction of Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar to it. He has announced his resignation of his membership of all congress bodies. Now is the time for leaders like him to hearten the rank and file and rally them round the congress banner we fear Mr. Rajagopalachariar has allowed his personal sorrow at the failure of a friend to get the better of his duty to the great national organisation. Discipline must be maintained but not by vicarious resignations. We would urge Mr. Rajagopalacharar to help achieve this by remaining at the post.

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September 28, 1936.

STATUS OF INDIANS IN COLONIES.

The answers given in the council of state the other day on the question of Status of Indians in Kenya and fiji are revealing. Asked whether it was a fact that Governments of Keya and fiji had given definite assurances about granting equality of status to Indians and Europeans, the Government answered in the negative The Government of these colonies cannot have made xx any pronouncement on the subject of equality of treatmentof different classes of His Majesty's subjects. His Majesty's Government directly govenn there colonies and they alone can therefore make such a declaration of policy. It is an undoubted fact that solemn promises have been made of equality of treatment. The colonial policy of Government it has been claimed on several occasions is to make no distinctions based on race. When the question of the highlands of kenya was discussed in the columns of newspapers in the months of May and june last it was pointed out by Sir John Harris and other prominent publicists that even the administrative discrimination of reserving the highlands to Europeans was opposed to the policy set out previously by the Government. Sir John in a communication to The Times pointed out that no racial discrimination had every been made in the territories under the direct rule of the crown. "Any such decision would not only violate the spirit but the letter of several colonial and Indian proclamations; moreover this issue was first raised when Lord Elegin was colonial secretary but he resolutely refused to depart from British colonial practice because he held that it was impossible to discriminate legally against British subjects". The Governement of India themselves are not at all satisfied with the decision of His Majesty's Government to make administrative distinctions in the treatment of Indians in Kenya, so far as the Highlands are concerned. As regards fiji the recent changes in the composition of the Legislative Council have been made because it was felt by colonial office that facilities given to Europeans as such were greater than was warranted either by the interests at stake or by the numerical strength of the community. It is of course

quite possible to argue and it has been argued that these solemn assurances referred only to equality of status so far as the ~~land~~ law was concerned; but that for reasons of policy, administrative differentiationhas been introduced and will continue. How far this departure from the principle of equal treatment is equaitable or right, we must ~~have~~ leave it to the conscience of British statesmen to judge. But so far as Indians are concerned, they will never acquesce in any such discrimination and it is gratifying to note that the Government of India are entirely at one with Public opinion on this subject. Where such differential treatment exists it is the duty of the government of India to armx themselves with power to treat the nationals of these countries in the same way as Indian nationals are treated by them. Thxat is the object underlying the Reciprocity Bill now before the Indian Legislature.

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October 5 1936.

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOR MADRAS.

We are glad that the efforts to form a branch of the Indian Civil Liberties union in Madras are taking practical shape. At a meeting of the sponsors of the idea held last evening, ~~provis~~ provisional office bearers were elected, as also on influential committee. Pandit Jawaharlal will formally noter into existence the the Branch on Thursday next at a meeting to be held at the Gokhale Hall. The union will endeavour to safeguard freedom of speech, thought and expression. While no doubt the union will seek to protect the individual against unroads by the executive on his liberty, it will organised informed public opinion against the growing tendency to create disorder at public meetings and do all in its power to foster a spirit of tolerance. Pandit Jawaharlal has on mere than one occassion made it clear that the union will be non-party organisation. The Indian civil liberties union has on its membership roll persons belonging to diverse schools of political thought. In the common task of protecting the liberty of the individual and safeguarding fundamental rights they have very properly joined hands. We dare say every support will be forthcoming to the Union with a wider realisation of the essential role which an organisation such as this can play To the Mahajana Sabha the oldest organisation in Madras, goes the credit of taking the initiative in the formation of a Branch of the union in this presidency.

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October 8 1936.

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PANDIT JAWAHARLAL IN MADRAS.

After a brief but strenuous stay in Madras Pandit Jawaharlal is leaving tomorrow morning for a short tour in the mofussil. Though he addressed a variety of audiences all his discourses were fundamentally one the same ~~time.~~ theme. He declared himself the bearer of two messages - one that of the Congress and the other that of socialism,. The irresistable appeal which the Congress gospel of freedom makes to India's millions has been amply demonstrated by the warmth of the welcome with which the President of the Congress has been greeted and the earnestness and the enthusiasm with which he has been listened to. As for the message of socialism which with characteristic candour Mr. Jawaharlal admitted has not been adopted ~~has not been adopted~~ by the Congress we doubt very much whether even his modest claim that the "Congress has looked upon it with a certain amount of acceptance" ~~has~~ will be generally conceded. . . . .

All we suggest is that he and those who think with him on social and economic questions should give no room for the suspicion that when freedom is ~~war~~ won the question of socialism will be founnd to be no longer an open question at all and that attempts might be made to misrepresent support for the congress as support for socialism. The supreme need of the hour is to strengthen the Congress. "We must have an organised and disciplined nation behind" said Mr. Nehru. And we are glad to note the paramount important he attached to the maintainence of discipline. "It is our duty", he said "to enforce discipline in Congress ranks because we are a democratic institution and indiscipline will mean ~~view~~ ruin". He rightly pointed out that "those who think that the congress is not ~~camping~~ carrying out its policy properly should try to convert the Congress to their view and then try to control its policy". If these injunctions are carefully borne in mind by all who owe allegience to the Congress we have not the least doubt that the Congress will come out with the flying colours not only in the forthcoming elections but also in the struggle for freedm ~~At the same time it also in the struggle for freedom~~. At the sa

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time it should not be forgotten that the Congress as a democratic organisation draws its strength from the willing support and loyal co-operation of the people. It is obvious that the policy and programme which it adopts should be such as to commend themselves to the vast bulk of the public as best calculated to subserve its time interests. It is to be hoped that however much pandit Jawaharlal and others of his way of thinking may be opposed to acceptance of office under the new constitution and whatever may be the individual ideas as to the best method of fighting the constitution congress leaders will not forget that in regard to these matters the congress must be guided by the views of the predominant majority of the people.

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October 16, 1936,.

PANICKY MENTALITY.

A sense of humour is nowhere the strong point of constituted authority. That perhaps explains the great to do which the Pudukkottah state authorities made about Pandit Jawaharlal's hurried passage ~~though~~ through the state from Karaikudi to Trichinopoly. They should have known that in view of the declared policy of the Congress he was not likely to engage in any political propaganda within the state Goundanes, even if he had the time to spare for it. If the people of Pudukottah wanted to show their respect for a distinguished countrymen by organising a receptiion on the way side or by other acts of social courtesy, why should the Durbar take objection to it. In their anxiety to prevent any such display of hospitality they took it upon themselves to do a number of things which in the retrospect must strike even then as rather ridiculous. They insisted on Pandit Nehru and his entourage taking the shortestx route through the state and covering it with the utmost despatch possible; they would not allow any one to address him and they seem to have tried their best to prevent him from speaking to any one and they made a quite unnecessary display of the forces of law and order; for xxxxMr. Nehru himself points out in his mordant description of the incident there would have been no commotion whatever if the state authorities did not make all this fuss. Other Indian states through which Congress leaders have passed or in which they have sojourned for some time did not take any of these elaborate precautions and no untoward consequence followed.

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October 29, 1936.

BAN ON MEETINGS.

The comprehensive order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code served on certain congressmen in Ramnad prohibiting them from convening meetings and holding conference is bound to cause grave misgivings. The congressmen concerned had definitely announced that meetings would be held "in furtherence of congress activities and electionpropaganda" but the Magistrate, we are told has been led to believe that in reality they are "designed to dis-eminate matters of seditious nature" calculated to result in "a serious breach of the public peace and disturbance to public tranquility."As such orders involve the violation of a valued right of the people, especially when a general election is in the ~~offices~~ offing the public have a right to expect the Government to see that the magistracy do not issue them - on the basis of alarmist police reports. We trust the congressmen concerned will move for ~~xx~~ the rescission of the order and show the injustice of the accusation against them.

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November 18, 1936.

CONGRESS AND THE ELECTIONS.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other congress leaders have issued an important statement from Wardha emphasising the considerations that should be borne in mind in selecting candidates to contest the forthcoming elections on behalf of the congress. They warn the congress committees of the danger of recommending as candidates. "persons whose past record and even present activities ~~"persons whose past record and even present activities~~ have been opposed to the congress". That this is no imaginary danger has been shown by the manner in which in a number of local bodies persons returned on the congress ticket have later acted in gross defiance of party discipline. In many of these cases ~~mfx~~ greater discrimination in the original selection of candidates with reference to their political past might have obviated such demoralising developments. The Wardha statement rightly insists that the quality of candidates "from the point of view of the Congress policy is more important than the winning of seats and the capture of a ~~fictions~~ fictitious majority in the Legislature". Those who are responsible for making the selections should further take particular care to see that their choice reflects as far as possible the preponderent body of local opinion. This is essential not only because healthy political development requires that the principle of freedom of choice on the part of the electorate should be fostered but also to avoid the unedifying spectacle of congressmen fighting against each other and thus weakening the congress cause.

The Wardha statement declares that all candidates must be chosen on the basis that they "~~xxxxxy~~ fully support the congress objective of independence and pledge themselves to carry out their policy in regard to the Legislatures". It is pointed out that this policy is "not to co-operate in any way with the (constitution) Act but to combat it and seek to end it. It is to carryout in so far as is possible the Congress policy ofrejection of the Act and to resist the British Imperialism in its attempt to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people". But honest candidate who is asked to give a pledge in these terms

may feel that this is all a little vague. Agreeing with the signatories to the Wardha statement who rightly emphasise that such pledges " may not be lightly or unknowingly undertaken" he may well plead that the implications of such declaration in the Congress manifesto as that the congress aim is "to combat the (constitution Act and seek to end it" or "to reject it" are not clear. The question has been time and again asked whether accepting office under the new constitution can be reconciled with such declarations but the congress has as often refused to discuss to enter the legislatures but is essential in order that congress objective of replacing the unsatisfactory constitution embodies in the new Act by a constitution which would confer the reality of self Government may be gained the quicker. Holding such views, they have a right to know what the congress attitude will be in regard to this important question before they are asked to pledge themselves in support of the congress policy in the legislatures. Since a clear declarations in the office by acceptance issued is not likely to be made official by the congress before the plenary session the only criteria that should weigh in selecting candidates must be their past record and the confidence based on experience that they might the point of view of what would best subserve national interests. Readiness to stand on the Congress ticket should not in the circumstances be interpreted as signifying willingnes to acquisce in any decision the congress may come to on the issue of office acceptance.

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December 3 1936.

OFFICIALS AND ELECTIONS.

In his address to the Legislative council to-day His Excellency the Governor referred to the fact that the Government had impressed upon their subordinates the duty of strict impartiality in the conduct of forthcoming elections to the legislature. The text of a circular which is being used in this behalf as well as of a government order applying particularly to employees of local bodies is published elsewhere. These instructions are good so far as they go but there is reason to fear that pronouncement from on hight on the limits of the legitimate election propaganda may be seriously misinterpreted by those who have the responsibility for maintaining order resulting in effective, if unauthorised., intereference with the voter's right to hear all points of view before judging for himself. Lord Erskine says that "the Government will in no circumstance tolerate propaganda disguised under the cloak of electioneering for the subversion of the Government as by law established". Now no one supposes that there is in the country to day anything will a subversive movement. So called occasional speeches of a somewhat fiery character may be made but that is inevitable in election times as one with Lord Erskine's great Parliamentary experience should know. And the wise course is not to take them too seriously. A general direction that Government officials should look out for sedition in such speeches may have unhappy consequences, as subordinate officialdom in this country applies itself to such tasks with greater zeal than discretion. The recent happenings in Ramnad, about which some qusstions were answered in the council to-day illastrate what we mean. Proceedings were taken first under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code and later under section 108 with a view as the Home Member explained to preventing people from making seditions speeches. His replies do not suggest that there was any imminent danger of breach of the peace. In the circumstances theproper course to take if the authorities decided on a full knowledge of the facts to take any action at all, was to prosecute the alleged offenders under the ordinary criminal law. But the local authorities chose to serve a gagging order on the speakers, making use of certain provisions of the adjective law. In a manner to which strenous

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~~objection adjectual law.~~ objection has all along been taken by Indian public opinion. The exponents of ~~are~~ one school of political thought were thus prevented from putting their views before the electorate merely on the strength of the opinion of local officials that they had uttered or were likely to ~~bitter~~ utter sedition - a matter involving delicate issues of fact and law on which to say the least they are not the persons best qualified to judge. It is undoubedly necessary that all due ~~due~~ preeautions should be taken, as His Excellency said, "against organised lawlessness and intimidation "and "against any individual or organisation attempting to interfere with the free and orderely conduct of the elections". But these desirable results will not be achieved if local officialdom should be free to interfere arbitrarily with legitimate election propaganda in the name of putting the stopper on sedition.

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